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Mongolian Leaders Send National Day Greetings

AU1309181789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 3

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the following telegram from Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], and by Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades: On behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the People's Great Hural Presidium, and the MPR Council of Ministers, and on our own behalf, we convey to you, and through you, to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the entire Bulgarian people, our sincere congratulations on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

We are very pleased to point out that the working people of people's Bulgaria, under the leadership of the BCP, have achieved remarkable successes in their economic development, in perfecting all spheres of social life, and in increasing their cultural and material prosperity over the last 45 years. Today the communists and working people in Bulgaria, in successfully coping with the major tasks assigned to them by the 13th BCP Congress, are consistently implementing a program for the fundamental restructuring and revolutionary renewal of society in Bulgaria.

The voice of the People's Republic of Bulgaria enjoys authoritative prestige on the international scene today. Along with the other Warsaw Pact member-states and with the CEMA member-countries, Bulgaria worthily contributes to increasing the strength and power of the socialist community, and to consolidating peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world.

It is particularly gratifying for us to emphasize on this occasion that the fraternal bilateral relations between our two parties, countries, and peoples are steadily expanding and being consolidated on the basis of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed in 1985. We are convinced that the fruitful cooperation between our two socialist countries will continue to increase and strengthen to the benefit of our two peoples for the sake of peace, democracy, and socialism.

On this remarkable day, with all our hearts we wish you, dear comrades, and the fraternal Bulgarian people further successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress for the revolutionary renewal of socialist society in Bulgaria, and in struggling to build a world free of weapons and wars.

Zhivkov Receives Ambassadors' Credentials

AU0909152789 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 8 (BTA)—The newly appointed ambassadors extraordinary and envoys plenipotentiary of Burundi—Mr Ildephonse Nkeramihigo, Zambia—Mr Obina Richard Haambote, Togo—Mr Egoulia Kpanzou and Tanzania—Mr William Lucas Mbago today presented their credentials to Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council.

In his speech of welcome, Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized the sincere sympathy of Bulgaria for the efforts of these countries to build new democratic societies, to strengthen their economies and increase the prosperity of their peoples. During the friendly talks with the four diplomats, Bulgaria's first state leader assured them in the sincere intention of Bulgaria to continue to follow unflinchingly and on the basis of equality a policy of mutually advantageous development of her relations with Burundi, Zambia, Togo and Tanzania. This is one of the characteristic features of Bulgaria's foreign policy aimed at asserting the ideals of understanding and cooperation among peoples.

Zhivkov Meets Japanese Ambassador on Departure

AU1309083489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] On 13 September Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, received Massam Tanida, Japanese ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his forthcoming final departure from the country. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Sep

AU1609170989

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 10 September through 1500 GMT on 16 September report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended the 9 September parade of the Sofia City working people: Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petko Danchev, Dobri Dzhurov, Grisha Filipov, Emil Khristov, Pencho Kubadinski, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Ivan Panev, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Vasil Tsanov, Georgi Yordanov, Yordan Yotov, and Todor Zhivkov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Sep 89 p 1)

The following leaders attended the 8 September public meeting in Sofia's Georki Kirkov Hall, which marked Bulgaria's national day: Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petko Danchev, Dobri Dzhurov, Grisha Filipov, Emil

Kunstov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Ivan Panev, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Tanchev, Vasil Tsanov, Georgi Yordanov, Yordan Yotov, and Todor Zhivkov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 89 p 1)

The following leaders are mentioned as having met Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of Saarland, during his stay in Bulgaria in a communique published on the visit: Milko Balev, Petko Danchev, Petur Mladenov, Stoyan Ovcharov, and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 14 Sep 89) Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev on 14 September in Sofia saw off the visiting FRG delegation, headed by Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of Saarland. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and State Council chairman, on 8 September received the newly appointed ambassadors to Bulgaria of Burundi, Zambia, Togo, and Tanzania. (Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 8 Sep 89) On 8 September Zhivkov also received Swiss Ambassador Michael von Schenk, on his final departure from Bulgaria. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 89 p 1) On 13 September Zhivkov received Japanese Ambassador Massam Tanida on his final departure from Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 13 Sep 89) On 13 September Zhivkov received Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of Saarland. (Sofia BTA in English 1226 GMT 13 Sep 89)

Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, on 7 September at Sofia airport saw off Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 p 2) On 12 September Milko Balev received Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of Saarland. (Sofia BTA in English 1536 GMT 12 Sep 89) On 13 September Milko Balev attended Todor Zhivkov's meeting with Oskar Lafontaine. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 89) On 14 September Milko Balev attended a national day reception at the Ethiopian Embassy in Sofia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, on 7 September attended a meeting at Sofia's Central Army Club, which marked the 45th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 pp 1, 4)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, on 8 September in Sofia attended Zhivkov's meeting with Swiss Ambassador Michael von Schenk. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 89 p 1) On 13 September Mladenov attended Zhivkov's meeting with Japanese Ambassador Massam Tanida. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 13 Sep 89)

Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, on 15 September in Sofia attended a festive meeting on the 45th anniversary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, on 15 September in Sofia attended the festive inauguration of the new school year at the Lilia Karastoyanova High School. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 14 September in Sofia attended a meeting of the national preparatory committee for the Ecoforum Conference. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of culture, science and education, on 15 September in Sofia attended a meeting devoted to the 75th anniversary of the Bulgarian socialist women's movement. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89) On 15 September in Sofia, Georgi Yordanov received the visiting PRC trade delegation, headed by Zhang Shiyao, vice minister of commerce. (Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 15 Sep 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, on 13 September attended a meeting in Pancharevo on the occasion of the Ethiopian revolution anniversary. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 89)

GDR Refugees in Prague Refuse To Return Home

LD1209152389 Hamburg DPA in German 1352 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—No breakthrough has yet been reached this afternoon in the negotiations surrounding the fate of the 450 [as received] GDR refugees in Bonn's embassy in Prague. Walter Priesnitz, secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Inner- German Relations, State Secretary Franz Bertele, head of the FRG's permanent representation in East Berlin; and East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel had all travelled to Prague to seek a solution to the problem.

After a short conversation with Ambassador Hermann Huber, they spoke with the refugees. The majority of the would-be emigrants, however, would not agree to return home. Some withdrew the initial promise they had made to do so. The majority of the GDR citizens wish to remain in Prague, some said "until the 40th anniversary of the GDR." [Passage omitted]

Exodus of GDR Citizens 'Purposefully Prepared'

AU1509141889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Sep 89 p 7

[Karol Turan commentary: "Winter Always Follows the Summer"]

[Text] The European press is paying a great deal of attention to the mass departure of GDR citizens to the FRG via Hungary and Austria. It is remarkable that, with the exception of the press of the FRG, this unprecedented phenomenon is being judged in the West with reservation and mixed feelings. The fact that one state (Hungary) allows the citizens of another state to illegally emigrate to a third state without the appropriate travel documents is, in the end, a bit too much for civilized Europe.

It can already be said that the operation has not been a spontaneous but a long and purposefully prepared one. The FRG has been systematically and thoroughly preparing for this D-Day. Whole regiments of West German journalists and TV reporters have been arriving in the camps in the West German-Austrian border area between Freilassing and Passau to give the appropriate "luster" to this provocation against the GDR. FRG politicians, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl, cannot find words of gratitude to Hungary for this "help." The Hungarian side finds it hard to accept that the GDR has termed this action a "political deal." Did it perhaps expect the GDR to be thankful to it for this "humanitarian" deed?

Indeed, in its statement the Hungarian Government really cites humanitarian considerations as its motive for the "temporary suspension of the relevant points of the intergovernmental agreement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the GDR." The fact is that the GDR citizens who have arrived in the FRG via Hungary cannot be regarded as refugees, even under the Geneva convention. They have not been persecuted at home and have not run away from war or any other factors threatening their lives or existence. Quite the reverse, they had jobs, apartments, and many of them have acquired free professional qualifications at home. This is precisely what West German political circles have in mind—not because the West German economy depends on them, but to harm the economy of the GDR. The GDR citizens who have been arriving in the FRG in the last couple of days without the consent of their own authorities are giving chaotic replies to the question why they have left their country. These include the reply given by one young man who said that he could buy only two types of yogurt in the GDR, and that he would also like to have a nut-flavored one.

Of course, they also recite in unison replies which they have learned by heart—about freedom, the possibility to travel freely all around the world, the chance to buy luxurious goods. The systematic work of West German television, which a considerable proportion of the GDR population is able to watch, as a decoy for young people in particular has paid off. The fact that one needs money to buy all these things is something they failed to say. The West does not want to accept the money of socialist countries and, if it does, then only at an unrealistic, extortionate rate of exchange. Even so, there are tens of thousands of GDR citizens who travel to the West and additional thousands receive legal permits to emigrate to the FRG if warranted by important family reasons. However, this is not as effective for the FRG as the organization of an illegal mass departure which, above all, fits well into the propaganda about the GDR being "destabilized." However, the days of euphoria over the "successful operation" will invariably be followed by ordinary days. The West German public is far less enthusiastic than the central press and some politicians. In the local press one can also find more realistic views. The DEGGENDORFER ZEITUNG has headlined its article "Frosty Days Will Also Come." After all, jobs in the GDR are more abundant, and the problem of unemployment in the FRG will get even worse. Of the current number of unemployed, former citizens of the GDR account for 40 percent. Dieter Lettmann, long-time chairman of the FRG writers' organization, has expressed himself to the effect that a wicked game with people is involved here. How else can one describe the fact that FRG passports are being issued to GDR citizens, and on the territory of a third country? One keeps dusting off the so-called Hallstein doctrine, under which all Germans, wherever they live, are FRG citizens. Under the slogans of "freedom" and "human rights" the West pursues a quite different aim—to discredit the GDR and weaken its high standing in the world.

Yes, there are still people in the FRG who cannot reconcile themselves to the existence of the GDR and do not want to accept the political and territorial realities in Europe. They interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states, violating the fruitful all-European cooperation based on the Helsinki Final Act and other CSCE

documents, forgetting that in this way they are also threatening their own security.

Contingency Plan for Danube Dam Outlined

LD1509193489 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Bratislava Sept 15 (CTK)—The possibility of a substitute, provisional and temporary technical solution exclusively on the territory of Czechoslovakia was explained here today by Czechoslovak and Slovak governments' envoy Vladimir Lokvenc at a press conference on the power station system on the Danube.

This provisional solution of limited operation will be realized in case the Hungarian government does not accept the Czechoslovak proposals put forward during the talks of Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Hrivnak and his Hungarian counterpart Peter Medgyess here September 9.

Czechoslovakia repeatedly proposed that Hungary continue the construction of the power station system between Gabcikovo and Nagymaros on the Danube, especially the damming up of the Danube near Dunakiliti in harmony with the agreement and contractual documents. Czechoslovakia is prepared to realize it by its own capacities in case Hungary is prevented from implementing this step for capacity, technological or organizational reasons, he said, adding that that this solution would be at the cost of the Hungarian side.

"Our procedure will be in no case at variance with valid international agreements and international law", Vladimir Lokvenc told CTK.

Dealing with the question of the damage and expenditures caused to the Czechoslovak side by Hungary's one-sided procedure, he said that they cannot be concretized so far. If the power system is not built as a complex, i.e. including the Nagymaros project, the losses will be estimated approximately at some 2,000 million dollars annually.

Czechoslovak and Hungarian international law and ecology experts will have consultations in Bratislava and Prague in the next few days, he said.

Oil-Fired Power Station To Be Supplied to Iran

AU1509170589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "News, Current Affairs, and Information" column: "A Power Station for Iran"]

[Excerpts] Brno—The Skoda-Export Foreign Trade Enterprise and the First Brno Engineering Works won an extremely large order—the complete construction of a "turn-key" power station in Iran's Great Salt Desert—when they signed a contract in Iran. This involves the complete construction, supply, and installation of four 64-megawatt units which will cost around $150 million. The main fuel will be heating oil. [passage omitted] It is reckoned that more than 200 people from the CSSR will work on the project. At present, domestic-supplier relations are being resolved. This is the first case involving the export of an investment unit in the new organizational set up. The main contractor will be the First Brno Engineering Works. Its sub-contractors will also share the foreign currency revenue. Construction is to begin in the second quarter of 1991. [passage omitted]

Opening of Brno Engineering Fair Reported

AU1509172989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 89 p 1

[Josef Jirek Brno dispatch: "World Manufacturers' Meeting in Brno"]

[Excerpts] Brno (from our correspondent) —The International Engineering Fair in Brno, which was officially opened on Tuesday [12 September], considerably contributes to Czechoslovakia's greater integration in the international division of labor and to the expansion of all forms of cooperation. Present at the opening ceremony was a delegation of the CSSR Government led by Ladislav Vodrazka, deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry. [passage omitted]

A total of 2,720 exhibitors from 31 countries and West Berlin are participating in this year's 31st International Engineering Fair in Brno. [passage omitted] A new participant is South Korea; and the PRC will present itself in the field of machine tools after a 28-year pause. The largest foreign exhibitor is the FRG, followed by Austria, the GDR, Poland, Switzerland, and Great Britain. [passage omitted]

The International Engineering Fair will last until 20 September.

The festive opening was attended by Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee; Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Mevald, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic; Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to Czechoslovakia; and other guests.

Leaders Attend Party Committees Meeting 15 Sep

LD1509122889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The state-wide meeting of chief secretaries of the regional and district committees of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] opened in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle today.

Present at the session are comrades Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann,

Alois Indra, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, Miroslav Zavadil, and others.

In the introduction, Comrade Karel Hoffmann said that the leadership of the CPCZ regards contact with the key party activ of the regions and districts as the basic method of its work and a condition for the further advancement of its activity. He went on to say: We are interested in an open, wide discussion of the problems and experience gained in the past, in particular in the implementation of the conclusions of 17th party congress, of the sessions of the party Central Committee in the process of restructuring and democratizing the life of our society. The importance of the meeting is underlined by the fact that it is taking place during the preparation of annual membership meetings and party conferences, during an important phase of the preparation of 18th party congress said Karel Hoffmann.

Comrade Milos Jakes has been delivering the main report at the meeting.

Jakes Addresses Meeting

AU1809111389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Sep p 1-2

[Speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, delivered at a nationwide meeting of leading secretaries of party regional and district committees held in Prague on 15 September]

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, addressed a statewide meeting of chief secretaries of regional and district committees of the party in Prague today [15 September]. In his introduction he recalled significant events and changes that have occurred since the last statewide meeting, both from the internal and foreign political points of view. He recalled the individual sessions of the party's Central Committee which further worked out and specified the program of economic and social restructuring adopted at the seventh session of the party's Central committee in December 1987.

Fifteen months have passed since our last nationwide meeting, he said. During that time, important events and changes have taken place both from a domestic and from an international point of view. He recalled individual Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee sessions which further drafted and concretized the program of economic and social restructuring adopted at the seventh session of the party central committee in December 1987. Life has confirmed, Comrade Jakes said, that the conclusions the Central Committee adopted at its sessions are highly topical and one has to be more resolute in putting them into practice at all levels and sections. This concerns first of all party organs and organizations, all communists. It has been mentioned many times that the party is initiating restructuring and must be its motive force and a guarantor of its implementation of the socialist direction. Comrade Jakes reiterated that restructuring is inevitable inasmuch as socialism has also arrived at a new phase of its development in our ocuntry.

In the past period a number of decisions and measures have been adopted that are now being implemented. The basic move in the organizational restructuring of the center and the enterprise sphere has been made. Marked progress has been made in legislatively securing economic and social restructuring. The process of democratization of social life has deepened; the National Front is activated. The jurisdiction and responsibility of the national committees has increased. The requirement for increased public information and openness of the policy of the party is being implemented. Intensive work on preparation of significant congress documents has commenced. They are, for example, draft principles of the party program, new draft party statutes and a new draft constitution of Czechoslovakia. As Comrade Milos Jakes went on to note, work is also under way on draft guidelines for social and economic development for the next 5-year plan and up to the year 2005. A lot of work has been done, which is being shared by regional and district party committees, Comrade Milos Jakes said at the meeting.

It is of utmost importance that the implementation of the process of restructuring and democratization is becoming the cause of increasingly broader strata of the population. It is valuable political capital and must not be wasted. We must strive daily for trust in and active support for our policy on behalf of our citizens.

Comrade Jakes noted at the same time that the development since the security session of the party's Central Committee has not been simple. It has been marked by certain contradictions and shortcomings. Not everything is being fulfilled in a desirable way. Demands continue to be low in this direction. The biggest hindrance in this respect are strong stereotypes. This—together with an inclination toword mediocrity, laziness, insufficient involvement, and often even unwillingness to enter struggles to promoe new causes and approaches—is the main obstacle in fulfilling the adopted decisions and to faster progress both in the activity of the party and all of society. Restructuring has not yet been fully understood everywhere, particularly the concept that everybody must work more efficiently and that it is not a path to an easier life. This is also being reflected in the fulfillment of social and economic tasks. The achieved results, despite certain improvement, are stil not in harmony with our aims and possibilities, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed at a statewide meeting of chief secretaries of regional and district committees of the party.

When he spoke about attitudes toward tackling the tasks and problems life has placed before us he pointed out that they frequently do not correspond to new demands. Often it is not appreciated enough that restructuring signifies profound revolutionary transformations—the realization of which calls for great political struggle—

and that socialism both on an internal and an international scale is at stake. It is necessary to do more to ensure that such awareness penetrates above all the entire activity of the party, its organs, and organizations—all communists. This is even more urgent, Comrade Jakes stated, because during the past period there occurred, with the support of some Western political circles and media, a further activation of various illegal groups who want to take advantage of the process of restructuring and democratization to destabilize socialism in our ocuntry, weaken the party's role, and disparage its activity.

Regardless of the various statements and methods they use, their common endeavor is to bring about the reversal of the social system in our country.

Comrade Milos Jakes recalled the aims of our foreign policy which pursue above all the aim of creating favorable external conditions for the development of our socialist society. We are contributing actively to the assertion of the new political thinking whose main exponent is the Soviet Union and whose essence is to proceed from the confrontation of the cold war to strengthening confidence, security, stability, understanding, and cooperation among states and nations. This finds expression in a number of our initiatives. In line with the Warsaw Pact policy we have reduced the defense budget; 30,000 soldiers are being transferred from combat units to the newly established military construction organizations. As has already been announced during the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica we are considering the possibility, taking account of the development of the military situation in Europe, of further reducing defense expenditure and shortening national military service, Milos Jakes said.

He added: The development of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, which under the leadership of its communist party was the first to embark on the road of economic and social restructuring, continues to have priority importance for our country. The processes of revolutionary change taking place within Soviet society are inspiring for us in many ways.

The work facing us in the coming period, Comrade Jakes said at the meeting, will require great effort, realism, and resoluteness. The issue is that we consistently pursue the course on which we have embarked. We must not allow ourselves to be diverted by various pressures, possible conflicts, and risks from tackling tasks on which the fate of restructuring, democratization, and the further healthy development of our society depend. It is necessary to understand that through restructuring we are waging a struggle in the interest of our people to consolidate our country's position in the rapidly developing contemporary world. Our attitude must correspond to this.

As Comrade Milos Jakes said, it is necessary to regard as dangerous any kind of unjustified satisfaction. In the whole spectrum of tasks we are concentrating our main effort on the questions of socioeconomic development and on the creation of economic foundations of social restructuring. At the beginning of next year the realization of the restructuring of the economic mechanism enters a crucial stage. At present special attention is devoted to the fulfillment of the relevant resolutions adopted at the seventh and the subsequent sessions of the party's Central Committee and to the preparation for the application of new instruments and methods of management of the national economy from 1 January 1990. Although a considerable amount of work has been done in this respect one cannot overlook the fact that there are still a number of unresolved tasks and unclarified questions in the creation of prerequisites, both factual and those concerning systems. Organizational work throughout the management sphere is still a serious weak point.

Comrade Milos Jakes, addressing the national meeting of leading secretaries of regional and district party committees, also dealt with the work of the central bodies and the need for them to operate in an integrated and coordinated way. In this context he expressed dissatisfaction with the existing practical operation of the newly formed national economic center, for the departments are not consistently fulfilling their role of ensuring the needs of society. Frequently, contrary to their role, they make the excuse that they cannot interfere in enterprise management. We do not want the departments to order people about, Comrade Jakes said, but the founding bodies of the state enterprises have the duty to ensure that they perform their social role. This is a matter of high political responsibility and competence.

The CPCZ Central Committee expects the communists in the central bodies to provide help in the current period to the new state enterprises in formulating their blueprints for development, in the shift to self-financing, and in promptly tackling problems as they arise. An active part in promoting the intentions of restructuring in practice must be played both by the central bodies and the enterprises, Comrade Jakes stressed. Today the decisive thing is that the state enterprises already established should not procrastinate in the comprehensive preparations for their activity in the new economic mechanism, but should begin to operate in the spirit of the demands of that mechanism. Everywhere we must create the kind of conditions in which the working people have a say in decisions about all important issues. At the same time, it must be stressed that work collectives can only succeed in the new economic environment if they manage to satisfy better the demands of society in the area designated for their entrepreneurial activity. All the measures being taken must be aimed at improving the performance of the national economy. Without this, social guarantees and a further growth in living standards cannot be secured.

Comrade Miklos Jakes then went on to discuss the existing results in fulfilling the national economic and social development plans. He noted that over the first 8 months of this year, certain positive changes were appearing. However, a

series of longstanding problems and shortcomings still persisted, and these impaired economic performance and disrupted the balance of the economy. He recalled a series of specific measures currently being drawn up by the government and the central bodies, particularly to ensure the balanced development of the national economy. Communists must contribute through their day-to-day political work to the effective mobilization of the working people for the implementation of socioeconomic tasks, Comrade Milos Jakes stated. The Party bodies and organizations must also contribute more actively to ensuring that specific effective measures are taken at all levels for responsible formulation of the 1990 plan, and for creating the prerequisites for drawing up the plan for the ninth 5-year period.

In unity with restructuring of the economic mechanism, Comrade Jakes continued, the process of democratization in our society is growing deeper; this is a process that affects the whole political system. A key role here falls to the National Front, the well- proven basis of that system. We must continue more resolutely with the already initiated path of activating the National Front, because enhancing its role as the basis of socialis pluralism of views and interests is one of the fundamental lessons of our historical development, of the national liberation struggle, and of the whole period of building socialism, and also of the development of the other socialist countries. The richness of the National Front's structure, the number of parties and organizations affiliated to it, and the varied social make-up of their members are one of the great advantages of our political system, which we make better use of at all levels.

Comrade Milos Jakes, speaking at a statewide conference of chief secretaries of regional and district party committees, also pointed out the extraordinary importance of a correct nationalities policy for the further development and stability of our socialist political system. We watch the world around us and see how explosive nationalities problems can be and how easy it is to misuse national prejudices, which have deep roots. We must continue to carry out internationalist policy. The fact that there exist among the nations and ethnic minorities living in our state relations of understanding, fraternal cooperation, and awareness of all of us belonging together and of being responsible for the destiny of our common homeland is one of our greatest gains.

Among the most worthwhile tasks facing communists is that of protecting and developing all what we have achieved in our federative state. These issues occupy one of the key positions also in the draft of the new Czechoslovak Constitution.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to say that national committees have undergone positive development during the past period. A number of measures have been adopted to strengthen their powers and accountability. We regard a substantial strengthening of powers and competence of national committees in towns and villages as one of the decisive prerequisites to bring about a qualitative change in the activity of the whole system of national committees. We shall continue consistently along the road embarked upon toward a greater independence of national committees, including the economic one, an assertion of their self-administrative position in particular at the basic levels, coupled with the growth of their responsibility to meet citizens' requirements.

When Milos Jakes spoke at the conference about the importance of ideological work in shaping public opinion in the spirit of restructuring and democratization, strengthening people's self-confidence and their confidence in socialism, he said that it is necessary to carry out the rstructuring of ideological activity in such a way so that it will correspond to the requirements of the present and is linked firmly with life.

The mass media, which are an important bearer of public information, ubdoubtedly occupy a significant position in it. The principles of public information are important enough for the party to regard it as necessary to enshrine them also in the corresponding legal regulations.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to pay a great deal of his attention to raising the quality of party activity. He stressed the changes in the content, methods, and style of their work. In the activity of regional and district party committees there is evidently a certain progress in making sure that that activity coresponds to the program of restructuring and democratization in the spirit of the conclusions of the seventh, ninth and subsequent meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee. The method of political leadership is being applied. Relations with state and economic bodies and social organization are being defined. Measures aimed at raising the role of elected bodies and improving the quality of work of the party apparatus are being gradually implemented. The party's inner life and the activity of party bodies have been given new impetus.

Comrade Jakes praised the approaches of those regional and district committees which are striving to draw the broad public into the preparation of their meetings by publishing working material in the regional and district press and by other forms, and which inform citizens about matters they are discussing and about measures adopted.

Overall, however, it is necessary to say that the requirements of the ninth session of the Party Central Committee in the work of the party, regional, and district committees and primary organizations are not proceeding sufficiently quickly. The party's capacity to implement matters remains a weak aspect of our work in a number of respects, Comrade Jakes remarked. He stressed once again that each segment of the party's structure is responsible for restructuring within its own area of activity.

The party's ideological and action unity is a key issue. We have embarked on a course whose implementation, as experiences show, requires the development of great ideological and political struggle. All commenists must act as real fighters for party policy, for the cause of socialism. The times demand urgently that every party

body—regional and district committees included—demonstrates unity in action.

In setting out the program for comprehensive economic and social restructuring and in working it out we have succeeded in setting a realistic perspective for further development. Today we must react to the tasks of the time by the entire party's ability to secure its realization, Comrade Milos Jakes said. At the same time, quantitative aspects cannot be in the forefront of party work either: how many meetings and actions take place, how many people attend schooling and the like,—although this, too, is important.

The main thing, however, must be the content of meetings, the effectiveness of conclusions and measures adopted, real political influence, and support for party policy, good results in the economy in and other sectors, healthy political atmosphere, in brief, the real efectiveness of the entire activity of party bodies and organizations.

We are entering the pre-congress period, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed. Annual member meetings of party primary organizations are beginning. They will be followed up by party conferences. We attach extraordinary importance to them. Their main task is contribute to the activity of communists in the interest of the implementation of party policy, raising substantially party work both in plants and at places of residence. The party must demonstrate its ability to lead our society, regulate development, and not allow haphazardness. It must proceed with tenacity of purpose, in unity, and resolutely.

The issue, Comrade Jakes stressed, is to set the whole party and society in motion, draw each individual into the implementation of our policy, and make use of the creative forces of our people. This is possible only if the following basic condition is met: the method of political leadership is applied, responsible bodies are not substituted, inner-party democracy and collectiveness are developed fully, and an environment is created in which every member and candidate member of the party, every citizen knows that the success of party policy, the success of restructuring depends on his ideas, views and actions, Comrade Jakes stressed at the statewide conference of chief secretaries of regional and district committees of the CPCZ in Prague.

Meeting Continues 16 Sep

LD1609084689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] The national meeting of chief secretaries of regional and district CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] committees continues in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle today. Taking part in the debates are comrades Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, and other representatives of our political life.

Comrade Vladimir Sykora, chief secretary of the Cheb District Party Committee critically pointed to the continuing directive approach to the management of state enterprises. Comrade Miroslav Hulin, chief secretary of the Pribram District Party Committee drew attention to the gradual increase in independence of party organs and organization, and to the openness of the policy and democratization of cadre work.

Jakes Ends Meeting

LD1609145289 Prague CTK in English 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 16 (CTK)—"We all know that the present time is not easy, that we have to solve demanding tasks, that the fate of our country is being decided about," General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Milos Jakes said in his final address delivered at the end of the two-day meeting of leading secretaries of the regional and district party committees here today.

"Now it will be decided how successfully we shall manage to multiply everything what has been achieved and created in the past 40 years of building socialism...we pursue real policy which has the support of the people," he stressed, adding that the dynamic development of the socialist country, its economy and the consistent continuation of the process of restructuring and democratization remains to be the main battlefield. The society needs higher effectiveness, rational economy, order and discipline.

"Only a sufficient creation of resources, dynamism of national economy in a new quality, creation of a broad space for the realization of the creative forces of the people is the road leading to an improvement of their life, a road enabling Czechoslovakia to develop as a modern, stabilized, socialist state," Milos Jakes underlined.

Jakes Attends Teachers Meeting Closing Session

LD0909211389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Sep 89

[Text] The most important event today in Czechoslovakia is no doubt the culmination of the statewide conference of teachers in the Palace of Culture in Prague. A delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee, and the Federal Government led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee, took part in the closing afternoon session.

Delegates acquainted themselves during the plenary session with conclusions reached during deliberations held by nine sections.

PEN Branch Protests 'Persecution' of Writers

AU1509143089 Paris AFP in English 1407 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Prague, Sept 15 (AFP)—The Czechoslovak branch of PEN, the international writers' association

recently revived here, has delivered a strong protest to Prague authorities about continuing "persecution" of writers and intellectuals here, according to a communique published Friday.

The PEN statement said the group, which seats both officially sanctioned writers and dissidents like the dramatist Vaclav Havel, felt moved to "publicly express its concern over the fact that numerous Czechoslovak citizens are still arrested for stating their opinions, or for their literary or cultural activities".

It also charged that "many citizens, including artists, are persecuted for having signed petitions, a right nevertheless recognized by the Czechoslovak constitution".

The statement said it was acting in the spirit of the worldwide PEN charter, which has pledged to promote the freedom of expression.

The club all but disappeared from Czechoslovakia under the crackdown during the 1970s, but met for the first time again in recent years in the capital on August 1 with the endorsement of the official Czechoslovak writers' union.

Stepan Charles University Speech Reported

AU1409160989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 89 p 2

["(NA)"-signed report: "Seeking the Historic Truth"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—A ceremonial gathering of lecturers, students, and staff of the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University heralded the start of the new academic year at this institution in Prague on Monday [11 September].

Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, participated in the gathering. In his speech he commented on the importance of the work of the social science front, a front in which the Philosophical Faculty also plays its role. He said that the City Committee expects assistance from the faculty in drafting the long-term outlook for the development of Prague, in working out and expanding its revolutionary traditions, and also help in cultural development and in training qualified teachers and other cadres.

Comrade Stepan emphasized that the universities cannot stand at the side of the political processes which make up the fundamental essence of the restructuring of socialist society. We want young people to actively participate in these processes, he said, so that they gain active political experience in them. It will be necessary to alter the nature of work and the nature of internal life at universities so that the university enables young people to acquire all the new things that restructuring needs.

Scientific activity—said M. Stepan later—must become an inseparable part of forecasting considerations and also of decisionmaking processes. The role and social responsibility of the social sciences is also increasing. Mere apologetics for a given situation will not serve objective knowledge processes. However, we must also guard against the infiltration of foreign and unfriendly ideological influences, the most dangerous of which are those that cast doubts upon the Marxist-Leninist methodological foundations of social-scientific knowledge. If the Charles University Philosophical Faculty sets itself the aim for the next 5-year plan of integrating its research and development capacity with the task of "The Dynamism of Social Changes and Their Influence on the Shaping of Man", then we regard this as a step in the right direction. The outcome of research aimed in this direction, he said, should be the overcoming of mechanical and, in terms of their substance, non-dialectical and schematic approaches toward society and the inevitability of its development.

In speaking about antisocialist structures, M. Stepan remarked that there are people who, under the slogan of dialogue, want to reject the achieved results, to destabilize society, and to return it to a bourgeois order. Such events to exert pressure, involving various leaflets, petition campaigns, or shouting in the streets, are decisively rejected by the majority of the citizens of Prague. What is positive in them? How can they contribute, for example, to implementing restructuring or to the general building plan for the socioeconomic development of our capital city?

Miroslav Stepan highlighted the fact that the restructuring of our economic and social life is intended to stimulate the renaissance of socialist ideals and make them attractive, in particular, to the upcoming young generation and to today's students. Who else should win over their peers for the ideals of socialism if not the young philosophers themselves? This envisages, of course, that we get rid of everything that has outlived its use and that, along with the young student generation, we seek the historic truth about socialism because the guarantee of its future lies in this. We want to conduct and we will conduct an honest dialogue about all of these issues. A dialogue with those who are seeking the truth and who want to understand the truth.

Zavadil Addresses Central Trade Union Meeting

LD1309063489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] The presidiums of the Central Trade Union Council and Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils met in Prague today to discuss the implementation of the conclusions reached at the stateside all-trade union conference.

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, recalled in his speech that the conference had set the trade unions' prime task in the current period primarily to defend the legitimate rights of their memebrs and push through their justifiable demands and interests.

Those who spoke in the debate pointed out that trade union officials were pushing through the legitimate demands of the working people with insufficient courage and militancy. This, coupled with the lack of thoroughness in dealing with comments and suggestions put forward by working people at production meetings and trade union membership meetings, has led to a section of works committees loosing authority among their membership. They also spoke critically about the fact that scientific and technological development was still applied insufficiently in practice, that innovation was lagging behind, the quality of production was not increasing, and that the utilization of the working time and labor organization were not improving either.

Interviewed on Conclusions

LD1309094189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Excerpts] The presidiums of the Central, Czech, and Slovak Trade Union Councils have been meeting today in Prague to discuss the implementation of the conclusions of the national trade union conference. After the session, [editor] Vaclav Klement asked Miroslav Zavadil, chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Klement] Comrade chairman, what position did today's session adopt on the implementation of the conclusions of the national trade union conference?

[Zavadil] We agreed that the conference was, and continues to be, immensely important for the trade unions because it defined the tasks for the trade unions in the conditions of restructuring, because we unequivocally endorsed this policy of the party, and because the national conference established in a new way the priorities of the trade unions' activities. [passage omitted] Our session today noted that although a number of tasks have been fulfilled, we cannot be in any case satisfied. The session also noted that trade union activity in promoting the restructuring policy more consistently has not been envisioned, that we have considerable weak points in the activity of the primary trade union organizations in making the voice of the trade unions heard, and trade union activity felt much more. In this regard our joint session called on lower trade union bodies and primary organizations to step up trade union participation in carrying out current party policy and the policy of restructuring.

[Klement] In putting these conclusions into effect the joint trade union-government sessions are very important. On what is their attitude to one another primarily built?

[Zavadil] The national conference adopted a critical position on some specific shortcomings in our society, in the activity of the government and certain ministries. This was not cheap criticism or demagogy on our part. The conference expressed the view of the working class and the working people; that is precisely what gives the conference its authority. We have one common aim, even though the government and the trade unions put these aims into effect in their own ways. We favor constructive cooperation developing further, while maintaining the independence and autonomy of the trade unions, their opportunity to voice critical views, and ask the government to change this or that, or put this or that into effect. [passage omitted]

[Klement] Comrade chairman, what tasks were adopted at today's session of the top trade union bodies? Where is the greatest attention to be focused?

[Zavadil] The trade union organizations are about to hold their annual general meetings. It was pointed out that members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement should express themselves very specifically in the conditions of their work collective, whether it be state enterprise, single plant, individual workshop or workplace, that they should make sure that the activity of the trade unions grows further in implementing the tasks of the state plan, in developing social policy in given local conditions. [end recording]

Gas Pipeline Explodes in North Bohemia

AU1309104789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Gas Pipeline Explosion"]

[Text] Most (CTK)— An explosion followed by a fire occurred on a city gas pipeline at Zaluzi, Most District, which is a reserve source for the Chemical Works of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship at Litvinov, yesterday morning. The causes of the explosion have not yet been ascertained. The blast damaged the rail sidings of the nearby Julius III mine and of the Chemical Works, as well as a section of the railroad connecting Most and Louka near Litvinov. No one was injured. The fire has been contained by public and enterprise fire brigades from five districts of the North Bohemian region. Their effective and swift action prevented the fire from extending to the neighboring chemical plant, whose operation has not been disrupted. Work has started on overcoming the consequences of the explosion with the help of the Chomutov plant of the North Bohemian Gas Works. In addition to other complications, the accident has complicated the situation for railroad workers, who must use alternative routes for passenger transport between Most and Louka near Litvinov, as well as for coal from the Herkules coal treatment plant. A commission of experts has been appointed to investigate the causes of the explosion. The extent of material damage is as yet unknown.

Possible Record 1989 Harvest Expected

AU1409164989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Sep 89 p 2

[Zdenek Hoffmann article: "Grain Growers' Successful Year"]

[Excerpts] This year's harvest is drawing to an end. Only the last hectares of cereal crops in mountainous and submountainous areas remain to be harvested. [passage omitted]

What is the outcome of this year's harvest? Approximately 11 million tonnes, which is 660,000 tonnes above the projections of the plan and 170,000 tonnes above last year's harvest. If the expectations of a harvest of more than 1 million tonnes of maize come true, then we can expect a harvest of grain crops that will exceed the record harvest of 1984.

If we add to this result the almost 10-percent overfulfillment of the planned production of rape seed, the very good harvest of early potatoes, and of most vegetables and fruits, which was also connected with higher deliveries to the market, and the fact that demand for meat and dairy products is being met in this first year in which the entire agriculture-food complex is operating under new economic rules, then we can be satisfied. These results are a practical confirmation of the correctness of the path of economic reform upon which we have embarked. [passage omitted]

Discrimination of Homosexuals Examined

AU1309131789

[Editorial report] Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No. 36, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 9 September, publishes on its pages 8 and 9 a 5,000-word feature "prepared by" Jiri Janouskovec, entitled "Openly About One Hidden Problem; At Least 3.5 Percent of the Male Population—Our Fellow Citizens Are Affected By It." The feature examines the social and legal status of homosexuals in Czechoslovakia.

It is introduced by an explanatory paragraph, in which Janouskovec says that the problem of homosexuality has long been considered taboo in Czechoslovakia and has been avoided by the media, but that the danger of AIDS has made the topic acute, which is why HALO SOBOTA decided to "open" it.

The introductory passage is followed by a 1,000-word "abridged" version of a letter which was sent to the editorial office by reader "Petr P." The author of the letter accuses the media of dealing with homosexuality in one category with drug addiction and prostitution, that is, as an antisocial phenomenon. He points out that while in other countries, such as in the United States, a homosexual is accepted as a fully-fledged member of society and can lead a "dignified" life, in Czechoslovakia homosexuality is still classed as a sexual deviation or malfunction. He contrasts the situation in countries abroad where homosexuals have their own periodicals and clubs, where they can advertise in the classified columns of the press, and where they have "actively working social organizations" with the situation in Czechoslovakia where they are forced to seek short-term anonymous contacts at "undignified places" such as public lavatories. The author of the letter criticizes paragraph 244 of the penal code concerning sexual intercourse with a person of the same sex as a "ridiculous relic of the past" and calls for the legalization and social acceptance of homosexual partnerships as a way to prevent AIDS from spreading. In his letter Petr P. also notes that he has been subject to discrimination because of his sexual preferences. In this context he says: "For 3 months I had even been denied the right to work! I am a university graduate, have completed my studies magna cum laude, and have been awarded the title 'outstanding student' by the dean of my faculty. But because of my 'unsuitable' sexual preferences I work as manual laborer now. I do not know how advantageous or disadvantageous for society it is to employ university graduates in workers' professions, but I am moderately satisfied. No one holds my homosexuality against me. It seems that the 'suitability' or 'unsuitability' of one's sexual preferences forms part of the 'cadre prerequisites' which university-educated people must meet."

The publication of Petr P.'s letter is followed by a 1,000-word interview with Vitezslav Kvetensky, LLD, in which he discusses the legal aspects of homosexuality. Kvetensky says that, contrary to the letter writer's claim, homosexuality is not punishable in Czechoslovakia and society takes legal action only against "some socially dangerous forms and expressions of homosexuality, just as it takes legal action against some socially dangerous forms and expressions of heterosexuality." He admits, however, that, under paragraph 244, it is possible to punish a person above 18 having intercourse with a person of the same sex under 18, while the penal code does not foresee any penalties for analogous heterosexual intercourse. However, according to Kvetensky, this "sole substantial difference" between the legal qualification of homosexual and heterosexual conduct does not entitle the letter writer to speak of "direct discrimination of the homosexual minority." Kvetensky also responds to Petr P.'s suggestion that the legalization of homosexual partnerships could prevent the promiscuity of homosexuals. He says that a homosexual family could fulfill only "some partial functions" of the family, which is why he does not "consider the coming into existence of such legally-based ties as either realistic or expedient in the foreseeable future." Asked about the possibility of the founding of a special-interest organization for homosexuals, Kvetensky notes that, while such an organization could help reduce homosexual promiscuity, "without doubt there also exists the possibility of such an organization being misused for the proliferation and possibly even legalization of homosexual prostitution." He adds: "I definitely do not want to deny the best intentions to those homosexuals who regard the founding of their own

special-interest organization as necessary. They themselves may have an idea of how to construe legal guarantees which would prevent the organization's misuse. I personally do not have such an idea at present."

Finally, the HALO SOBOTA feature includes a 2,500-word interview with Ivo Prochazka, a sex therapist, and Slavomil Hubalek, a psychologist, in which they disprove various prejudices about homosexuals and discuss the problems which they face in Czechoslovak society. Contrary to Kvetensky, Hubalek and Prochazka advocate the founding of a special-interest organization for homosexuals. Prochazka points out that in the GDR there are about 20 organizations associating homosexuals, four of which operate under the Free German Youth, and that homosexuals in Hungary, too, have had their official organization since May 1988, which is very active in the campaign against AIDS. Asked about the discrimination of homosexuals in professional life, Prochazka says that in the last 8 years only three of his patients had job-related problems. Hubalek says that discrimination "occurs only among teachers and career soldiers." He points out that, provided that the persons concerned do not make themselves guilty of any wrongdoing, such discrimination is unwarranted. Moreover, in the case of teachers one usually confuses pedophilia with homosexuality, he says.

FRG Hiring of GDR Citizens 'Slave Trade'

AU1809092589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Sep 89 p 2

[Report by ADN correspondent Horst Schaefer: "Vilshofen's Mayor: Hiring of GDR Citizens Is 'Slave Trade'"]

[Text] Bonn—Hans Gschwendtner, second mayor of Vilshofen, has denounced the practice of hiring jobless GDR citizens by certain FRG entrepreneurs as "slave trade." These people are hired under doubtful conditions in front of the camp in the lower Bavarian town and taken away immediately. "This is slave trade," he stated, according to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

In an interview with ABENDZEITUNG in Munich, Ursula Engelen-Kefer, vice president of the Federal Labor Office, referred to the great difficulties as regards the integration of GDR citizens, who have been enticed away, into the FRG labor market. As an example she cited the fact that, despite an alleged number of 4,000 free jobs in North Rhine-Westphalia, only 42 GDR citizens, who have been enticed away, have received jobs. She also expressly rejected the notion that the GDR citizens are treated preferentially vis-a-vis the about 2 million officially registered jobless in the FRG. The vice president estimates that the GDR women's chances of getting a job are even lower. They are laboring under a double burden and, in addition to the job, they have to care for their families. "In contrast to the GDR," she said, describing the situation in the FRG, "here we do not have enough kindergarten places."

On Thursday [14 September] the FRG Government presented a draft law by which unemployed resettlers from East European states as well as unemployed GDR citizens are to receive only a lower "integration allowance" instead of unemployment benefits. In this way the Federal Labor Office intends to save DM430 million per year.

In a statement Gerda Hasselfeldt, FRG minister of regional planning, housing, and urban development, refused to give preferential treatment to GDR citizens, who have been enticed away, in their search for housing. The Christian Social Union group in the Munich Diet also stated that in Bavaria there must not be any special rights for the GDR citizens, who have been enticed away, in the allocation of housing. They have to join the waiting lines of FRG citizens. In the FRG there is a lack of 800,000 to 1 million apartments.

On Thursday Hanns Schaefer, chairman of the Cologne Association of House and Real Estate Owners, drew attention to the lack of willingness among house owners to provide housing to the GDR citizens, who have been enticed away. Of the about 16,000 Cologne house owners who belong to the association, "hardly a dozen" house owners and tenants of large apartments have reacted to his appeal.

Author Says FRG 'Violates International Law'

AU1409163989

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 13 September 1989 on page 5 carries a 2,500-word article by Herbert Annas, headlined "How the FRG Violates International Law."

The author accuses the FRG of "propagating the continuation of the German Reich and deducing German citizenship from this," as well as the claim that it has the duty to "take care of" and "give shelter to" GDR citizens. He also accuses the FRG of enticing GDR citizens away and persuading them to "betray their state."

The author refers to the Treaty on the Bases of Relations Between the GDR and the FRG and, in this context, to Articles 1 and 2 of the UN Charter, as well as to Principle I of the Statement on Principles of the Helsinki Final Act. He quotes relevant provisions of the Basic Treaty and says that Bonn's claim to sole representation represents a violation of this treaty. The author stresses that the Protocol to the Basic Treaty, which says that problems of citizenship are not settled by this treaty, does "not justify the FRG's arrogant interference in the GDR's internal affairs either," because "the juridical settlement of a country's citizenship is solely this country's affair."

Quoting the FRG's Basic Law, the author states that "the West German law not only claims that GDR citizens are FRG citizens, but this assumption goes even farther in territorial terms. It concerns substantial parts of the Polish People's Republic and of the USSR."

In conclusion, the author refers to the Vienna Convention of 24 April 1963 on diplomatic representations, and says that the FRG "disregards" this convention "by the revanchist assumption of sole representation and the doctrine of the continuation of the German Reich." Issuing FRG passports for "German citizens" to GDR citizens violates international law, says the author, adding that another such violation is the fact that the FRG has "inadmissibly misused" its diplomatic missions.

The author demands that the FRG "limit its jurisdiction to its own territory," stop asking "GDR citizens who visit the FRG to take part in elections and do military service," and respect "the GDR's personal sovereignty toward its citizens and the GDR's passport sovereignty."

Schabowski Views FRG 'Mudslinging' in Speech

AU1809103189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Sep 89 p 3

[Report on speech by Politburo member Guenter Schabowski at the 14th Berlin Best Workers Conference on 14 September: "Free, Peaceful Work Remains the Source of All Achievements"]

[Excerpts] At the beginning Guenter Schabowski discussed the motives of the current mudslinging against

the GDR. It is necessary to put things right, he said. Some people in Bonn cannot tolerate the constant failure of their revanchist illusions concerning the GDR. Forty years of the GDR—this marks 40 times 365 days of failure of the conspiracy, the attacks, the attempts at isolation, and the slanders that are continuously perpetrated by the FRG against the GDR. Referring to the anachronistic "obligation to care for all Germans," which violates international law and which Bonn claims for the GDR citizens, Guenter Schabowski noted: "They are once again shaken by the Hallstein syndrome, the chronic disease of FRG policy. This is the diagnosis."

Results of Our Reform Policy That Correspond to Man

Subsequently, Guenter Schabowski discussed the motives behind imperialism's hatred of socialism. This is based on the exploiters' primordial fear that their subjects might become independent. Even more, that they might make things better, as is shown by the results of the reform policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which correspond to the needs of man. This bears out the GDR's working people who, with their work, are attesting to the vitality of socialism in an even more visible and tangible way. We ourselves are the only ones who can do the work to put in order those things that are not yet in order. But, in particular, socialism and our socialist democracy give us every opportunity for this, Schabowski noted.

Citing another motive, Guenter Schabowski said that the baiting of the GDR is intended to remove the question of the safeguarding of peace and the FRG's responsibility for this from the political agenda, on which it was put so emphatically by Erich Honecker, when he visited the FRG in 1987. The bogey of the "lie about the threat" has been deflated. World conscience and the mood among the masses—also in the NATO countries—are turning against the further tightening of the armament spiral. In this situation the baiting of the GDR is only a calculated attempt at diversion, in the wake of which new deeds of armament are to be established. The GDR will not loosen its grip on Bonn, so that Bonn will live up to its own responsibility for peace and security in Europe. It will not be tempted by the escalation caused by the other side to deviate from the line of a constructive, prudent search for solutions to complicated and contentious questions, in the interest of peace and security on our continent.

Everything that we are experiencing during these days is aggression out of the historical defensive position into which the imperialist system has irrevocably slid. From this point of view, the scope and basic meaning of Erich Honecker's statement in his article on the 40th anniversary of the GDR becomes clear: "The GDR is the greatest achievement of the revolutionary German workers movement and crowned the struggle of all progressive forces of our people who were striving for a Germany without the exploitation of man by man, without imperialism and reaction, without nationalist megalomania and an aggressive urge for expansion—a new, a socialist Germany." Referring to this, Guenter Schabowski noted: "Our free, peaceful, initiative-rich, and creative work was, is, and remains the first source of all the achievements we have accomplished over 40 hard but successful years and whose multiplying and systematic expansion we will discuss at the 12th SED Congress, with a view to the year 2000." [passage omitted]

In conclusion, the first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership noted: Socialism, its successful construction, and the full utilization of socialist conditions for the people are inconceivable without the power which has brought the socialist revolution to victory on the basis of the revolutionary theory it mastered and advocated, and which tackled the building of the new society. This is the party of the workers class! It implements its leading role in socialist society by working out the strategy and the prospects of social development in line with the interests of the people and in close connection and consultation with the working people. But it also includes making the people politically, morally, and technically capable, and strengthening their self-confidence, so that they are able to recognize their responsibility for the entire society and are able to act accordingly.

Thus, in contrast to the role of the horse dealers of the bourgeois parties in capitalism, the leading role of the party lies in producing a responsible socialist citizen. The goal and meaning of the party's ideological work are embodied in him.

When the economy determines the people's quality of living and the capacity of the society in an elementary way, it not only requires the conscious participation of all people, but this is practically the first precondition for any success and progress. It is no coincidence that the great motto of our socialist democracy says: "Participate in working, participate in planning, participate in governing!" How could the party of the workers class, which is the engine and the pacemaker of the socialist democracy, withdraw precisely from this responsibility. Therefore, the law of the party's leading role says: Everyone in his place has to fully live up to his responsibility for society as a whole. Everyone must first check with himself where the untapped reserves lie in his sphere of work and in his personal actions.

This is the first guarantee for living up to the demands placed on us by time in preparing and holding the 12th SED Congress with, as Erich Honecker said at the seventh Central Committee session, even greater elan, far-sightedness, and feelings of responsibility.

Plans for Honecker Denmark Visit 'In Full Swing'

LD1509161189 Hamburg DPA in German 1534 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Copenhagen (DPA)—East Berlin has confirmed that an official visit by Erich Honecker to Denmark in October is to take place without changes, in spite of his present illness. This was learned on Friday from the office of Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter. As his spokesman Soren Skafte told the Danish news agency

RITZAU, preparations for the Honecker visit are in full swing. Skafte continued: "The East German authorities have told us that they want to go ahead with the visit in October."

Disarmament Expert Discusses Vienna Talks

AU1809073789 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 9 1989 (signed to press 4 September 1989) pp 15-17

[Unattributed interview with Klaus Dieter Ernst, head of the the GDR delegation at the Vienna Talks on Conventional Forces Reductions in Europe: "What Is At Stake in Vienna?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on general objectives of the Vienna talks] HORIZONT: What particular security interests of the GDR does your delegation represent at the negotiating table?

Ernst: The results of the collective ideas and efforts of all seven socialist states are on the negotiating table. It is obvious that the GDR has already defined its specific security interests in the process of working out these proposals, as well as during the preparations for the tactical strategy for the next round of talks, and that it is certainly vigorously emphasizing its interest.

The basic principle of the GDR's foreign policy is to ensure that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace. This principle determines the GDR's approach to the disarmament talks, both as far as drawing up our own proposals or assessing those of others are concerned. This means: We support the reduction and the ultimate elimination of the danger of a surprise attack by means of measures for reduction and limitation, particularly at the contact line between the alliance systems. At the same time, we oppose proposals by NATO that are aimed at maintaining or even increasing the high concentration of armed forces and armaments at the line of contact, particularly in central Europe. This is why, on 30 May this year, the GDR delegation made a special proposal to determine the ceilings for six categories in central Europe. This is why it has vigorously opposed all those NATO proposals that would permit a concentration of more than 60 percent of NATO's weapons systems in the western part of central Europe.

With its approach, the GDR serves its own and the Europe-wide security interests. For if it is possible to reduce the high concentration of weapons systems, particularly of offensive weapons at the line of contact between the alliance systems, the probability of a military conflict would be reduced not only on German soil, but also in Europe as a whole.

HORIZONT: What are the main problems that still have to be solved in the interest of agreements?

Ernst: There are quite of number of such problems and, in particular, the general problem. Although even on the Western side an increasing number of people recognize the principle that security can no longer be guaranteed through confrontation but only cooperation, there are still others who want to proceed according to the motto "wash my fur, but do not make me wet." They persistently demand that the socialist states make substantial reductions and take other steps, but at the same time they try as hard as they can to prevent this kind of change within the military potentials, practices and plans of NATO, or—once such changes cannot be avoided—to leave open the possibility of compensation. There can be no doubt that this kind of approach is damaging. Now I would like to turn to some specific problems:

In the context of these talks, NATO wants to count and treat air forces in a way that leaves the numerical superiority of its attack aircraft untouched.

According to NATO, weapons in depots—the FRG stores major items of equipment for about six U.S. divisions—should not be included in regional ceilings.

NATO wants to set ceilings only for USSR and U.S. forces abroad, but not for the general personnel strengths of the alliances.

Questions are still pending concerning the division of the entire area of reduction in individual regions with set limits for weapons and personnel strengths.

Finally, there are a number of problems concerning the definition of weapons systems, regulations for counting them, control, and exchange of information.

Many of the problems mentioned are complicated, but they can all be solved, if the NATO and Warsaw Pact states narrow the gap that divides them.

HORIZONT: When could it be possible to sign an agreement?

Ernst: At the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Council, the Warsaw Pact member-states stressed that they are determined to do everything to conclude the first agreements as early as 1990. This requires, of course, a constructive approach by all participants. Joint solutions have to be found which take into account the legitiamte security interests of all parties involved. this requires intensive preparatory work and, above all, political decisions for joint security and against all attempts to guarantee one's own security at the expense of the other party.

There are possibilities that substantive agreements can be concluded soon. Whether these possibilities will materialize depends on many factors, but certainly not on the Warsaw Pact member states alone.

Kessler Comments on Military Policy, NATO

AU1509145589 East Berlin EINHEIT in German No. 9-10/1989 (signed to press 17 August 89) pp 824-830

[Article by Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and GDR minister of national defense: "Military Policy for Peace and Socialism"]

[Excerpts] Four decades of secure peaceful construction work in the GDR also prove the correctness and effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist military policy, which has been pursued by our party and our state prudently, responsibly, and far-sightedly. Together with our allies, the National People's Army [NVA], the border troops, and the protective and security organs of the GDR, as the instruments of our national defense, contributed essentially to the fact that the revolutionary process of socialist restructuring has taken place peacefully in our country, that our people have been spared the disastrous consequences of a war waged with modern weapons, and that the people here and in the allied socialist states have been able to live and work free of scourgings from the horsemen of the apocalypse of the nuclear-space age.

Not just once during the second half of the 20th century were we faced with the flaming dangers of an imperialist aggression—let us just recall the dramatic escalation of the situation in the summer months of the years 1953, 1961, and 1968 and in the fall of 1956 and, above all, 1962, when the crisis in the Caribbean area brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war.

Some of our contemporaries might consider the period of peace, which has lasted for almost 45 years now and which is the longest of European history, as a matter of course. However, we should never forget how seriously and hard we had to work for it, how much statesmanship and wisdom, political prudence, and military vigilance were necessary to avert the imminent danger of war, to arrive at peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states, and not to let the bases of our socialist system be undermined!

When leading politicians and military men of the NATO powers celebrated the 40th anniversary of the North Atlantic Alliance in Brussels in May 1989, the European peace was declared to be solely to the credit of this imperialist military alliance and they even declared themselves the "victors in the cold war," which is now allegedly coming to an end. But was NATO not formed in 1949 under the slogan of "rolling back" socialism, of "halting" the struggle of the workers class in the capitalist countries and the national and social liberation movements of the peoples who had been plundered by imperialism? These goals have not been achieved and this was, not least, due to the defense readiness of the socialist armed forces, to which the GDR's NVA has also made its appropriate contribution. [passage omitted]

The extraordinary initiatives and unilateral advance performances of the allied socialist states in several fields of disarmament and military confidence-building are having a considerable political effect in the peace movement and, not least, among the public in the NATO countries. The circle of renowned politicians, also military men, who consider it urgent to have serious constructive negotiations and the conclusion of new agreements on disarmament, in particular concerning conventional armed forces and chemical weapons, is increasing and also encompasses people from among the governments and government parties.

At the same time, one cannot overlook how energetically the arms concerns and the most reactionary political forces in capitalism are setting themselves against the process of disarmament. Their still considerable influence in the NATO countries and in the capitalist world in general hinders the advance of negotiations.

In addition to the striving of the military-industrial complexes for armament profits and arms exports to zones of conflicts, the urge for social and political revenge for the defeats which imperialism has suffered over the past decades at the hands of the progressive forces on all continents is countering the process of detente and of international cooperation between states with different social systems. The speculations in NATO concerning crises, the weakening and overcoming of socialism, the "reunification" of Europe and the two German states under capitalist rule, while neglecting the realities that have developed as a result of World War II, are escalating the situation.

For the time being, armament and the intensive preparations for all varieties of modern warfare continue unabated within NATO. The supplementing of modern arms systems continues. None of the programs which were decided in the mid-1980's for the development of new nuclear and non-nuclear weapons for the 1990's have been stopped so far. The decision about the introduction and deployment of the new nuclear short-range missiles, which are to replace the "Lance" missiles and are to have greater destructive potential and four times tha range of these missiles (close to the range of the intermediate-range missiles, which have to be eliminated in line with the INF Treaty) has not been withdrawn but has only been postponed for tactical reasons on the part of the FRG Government in view of the forthcoming elections.

NATO continues to have a large and even growing potential of military forces and a broad spectrum of means and methods that may be used against socialism. They include efficient units from all military services which are always combat-ready, and strong reserves that can be quickly mobilized. This includes a well-coordinated alert system and the quick deployment of forces, as well as the changing of strategic areas of the state and society from a state of peace into a state of war. It also includes a detailed and diverse operational and strategic plan on the deployment of forces.

According to NATO's operational plan, the actions of the leading organs and the troops in a period of tension,

in the phase when a war is unleashed, and in the initial period of a war are exercised regularly and intensively. In the course of the exercises, combat actions are escalated, up to the use of nuclear weapons. In the "Wintex-Cimex" exercises in the spring of 1989, the first use and subsequently the follow-up use of nuclear weapons were exercised. The FRG news magazine DER SPIEGEL wrote in this context: "In the event of war, the 45 atom bombs, nuclear missile warheads, and artillery shells envisaged in the NATO scenario would not only have devastated large parts of the Federal Republic and the GDR through fire storms and radioactive fallout—according to scientific calculations—but would also have killed millions of people. In Poland, the CSSR, and Hungary, entire regions would have been uninhabitable for decades."

Such NATO preparations for the event of war are carried out every year on a large scale in the fall exercises. In these exercises, forces are deployed numbering 100,000 and more men in the envisaged area of combat action and are placed in a state of prompt readiness for attack along our state border. For the Warsaw Pact states and armies it is not always clearly recognizable whether what the NATO forces are doing is a military exercise or could already be a war.

Consequently, the current and possible future developments within NATO make it necessary for us to remain vigilant in every respect, and to safeguard our readiness to always preserve and protect peace and socialism on the level that is required in a given situation. Our optimism that the peace forces throughout the world are stronger than the arms concerns and the warmongers is not least based on the certainty that the socialist states' foreign and security policy is gaining in influence worldwide as a peace policy, and that the Warsaw Pact forces are equipped, trained, and educated in a way that allows them to fulfill their defense mission.

If we stress the defensive nature of our military doctrine so much today—our military doctrine has always been committed to defense—and if we orient our armies' armament and structure even more strictly toward defense actions, this requires every soldier, noncommissioned officer, officer cadet, and officer to prepare even more thoroughly for mastering the weapons and defending their socialist home country. Consequently, the demands, particularly on the effectiveness and quality of our defense efforts, require new activities. We are resolved not to permit a war—neither nuclear nor conventional—and to protect our peoples and countries from any kind of imperialist aggression. That requires a permanent high level of training in the Army and the border troops, as well as the great efficiency of all the other services in the national defense system. Therefore, the respective formations and units of the Army, Air Force, and Navy as well as the air defense forces that are always combat-ready will also be required in the future. In addition, we need units, formations, and divisions of all these military services, including their technical support behind the lines, which can be rapidly brought up to the fixed fighting strength by way of mobilization as required in a given situation. We need military colleges to train the professional cadres—officers, officer cadets, and non-commissioned officers—and soldiers and non-commissioned officers who volunteer for longer military service. That holds true for the National People's Army and the border troops, as well as for all defense and security organs.

Certain national defense requirements and tasks result from our situation here in Central Europe on the dividing line with NATO and from our specific responsibility in the coalition. Let me just mention the political significance and the complicated service of our border troops on the state border with the FRG and West Berlin.

For us and the entire alliance, much also depends on the ability of the radar troops of the National People's Army and the Soviet forces' western group to fully and incessantly control the airspace over our territory.

To continue guaranteeing the necessary readiness for defense fully corresponds to our struggle for detente and disarmament and for a reduction of armed forces and the elimination of confrontation. Thus, we are protecting the working people's peaceful work of construction and the implementation of our economic strategy and, at the same time, we are providing reliable military support for our state's international initiatives and steps for the development of trust. We contribute to destroying the anti-ocialist illusions of some imperialist politicians and military men.

For all parts of and tasks in the system of our national defense—the armed forces, the border troops or civil defense, the state leadership organs from the ministries to the kreises, or the provisions and performances of the national economy, the readiness for action of the workers militias, the effectiveness of the Society for Sports and Technology for preparing young people for military service, and socialist defense training in the schools, enterprises, and the basic organizations of the Free German Youth [FDJ]—everywhere it is necessary to ensure, with a high sense of responsibility and with good quality, that the things that are created by the people's hands are reliably protected.

The solid foundation for this is the basic political and moral attitude of the GDR's citizens, whereby the good policy of the party of the workers class, of all social forces united in the National Front and of our socialist German state requires both good work in all social fields and also reliable protection against the very real external dangers. To achieve and consolidate this basic attitude, in particular among our young generation, is and remains a highly honorable assignment of all responsible citizens in our country, in particular of parents, teachers, pioneer leaders and FDJ functionaries, master craftsmen, teachers' trainers, members of our militias, the NVA, and of all protective and security organs.

With this the revanchism, which has recently become vocal again, and the neo-Nazi machinations in the FRG

and in West Berlin can and should be halted with an unmistakable and sobering "stop" at our border. In consistently and unerringly continuing our course that is aimed at disarmament and international detente, we will never forget for one moment what is important for the overall protection of our socialist fatherland and our socialist community, and what new or changing challenges our national defense has to face in the 1990's. The situation at the center of Europe, at what is militarily the most sensitive border between socialism and capitalism, requires far-sighted and careful action in this respect. Our responsibility toward history also obliges us to do this.

BERLINER ZEITUNG on Nonaligned Summit

AU1509144989 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 13 Sep 89 p 4

[Dietmar Henker commentary: "A Challenge to Mankind"]

[Text] The ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement is over. Three days after the conclusion of the representative state forum in the Yugoslav capital city of Belgrade, balance sheets are being drawn up in many places. There is the question of the vitality of a movement which comprises 102 members and represents almost half of the world's population.

Despite numerous unsolved regional, economic, and social problems as well as different national interests of the individual member states, agreement on the questions of our time was achieved in Belgrade. The documents that were passed express the will of the nonaligned states to deepen their joint efforts for peace, disarmament, and the settlement of contentious issues with peaceful means.

The fact that a political consensus was achieved in this question convincingly demonstrates the anti-imperialist orientation of the movement. Also during the third decade of its existence, the non-aligned states are an important factor in world policy and partners of the socialist states in the struggle for disarmament. Interests also coincide regarding the fact that financial means that are freed by disarmament must be used to solve economic and social problems.

In this connection, the underdevelopment in the Third World poses a global challenge to mankind. It goes to the credit of the non-aligned states that, as some sort of "world conscience," they have repeatedly drawn attention to the dramatic social situation of billions of people in the developing countries.

In particular, the capitalist industrial states should feel that they have been called by the appeal from Belgrade to do everything to save the world from a military, economic, or ecological collapse. After all, they owe their economic upswing to a large extent to the economic exploitation of the developing countries. However, this appeal from the Yugoslav conference city remained unheard in the FRG media for instance. Most FRG papers dedicated hardly a line to the summit, or even that 60 heads of state and government alone participated in the forum.

The general debate and the intensive discussions in the committees also demonstrated that there are different views among the individual member states concerning the future strategy of the Nonaligned Movement. This cannot be surprising in view of the increasing heterogeneity of the movement. No further approach of the standpoints was achieved as regards the situation in Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq conflict. The situation in Cambodia after the de facto failure of the Paris conference also causes concern. However, it must be said that since the eighth summit in Harare 3 years ago, considerable progress has been achieved concerning a settlement of the conflicts in Central America and in Namibia.

Enormous efforts are still needed to implement the basic idea contained in the final declaration that the world has to be turned into a common home for everyone. However, it is already obvious that the non-aligned states will assume an important place in this home.

Sindermann Meets Venezuelan President Lepage

LD1209051189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 11 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a meeting in Berlin on Monday the parliamentary presidents of the GDR and of Venezuela, Horst Sindermann and Dr Octavio Lepage, were of the opinion that the most recent agreements reached at the meeting of the Central American presidents in Tela (Honduras) were a constructive step toward the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region. This constituted further evidence of political dialogue and readiness to compromise on the basis of reason and realism being the only way to reach a peaceful solution of even complex problems in international relations.

Ways of developing cooperation between the GDR People's Chamber and the Chamber of Deputies and Senate of the Republic of Venezuela were explored during the discussion.

Taking the traditions of the anti-fascist struggle as his starting point, Horst Sindermann explained the foundations and practice of the alliance policy in the GDR. He informed his counterpart of the main features of the GDR's economic and social policy. The guests were particularly interested in how health care and education benefitted all citizens.

Dr Octavio Lepage explained that it was primarily in the last 10 years that the process of political independence had progressed in Latin America. The politician pointed to the enormous debts of many Latin American countries as a major cause for their considerable economic and social problems. He described the efforts his country was making to actively contribute to a just reshaping of world economic relations. His country's foreign policy focused on peaceful cooperation in the region.

Dr Octavio Lepage invited Horst Sindermann to make an official visit to Venezuela.

Stoph Confers With Official

LD1309093989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 12 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Willi Stoph and Venezuelan Congress President Dr Octavio Lepage on Tuesday in Berlin conducted an extensive dialogue on the state of bilateral relations, the possibilities for deepening them, and global questions.

The partners in the talks noted that the views of the GDR and Venezuela concurred on a number of questions of international development or were approaching each other.

They stressed the responsibility of all states to contribute toward improving the international situation and to work for the brisk continuation of the disarmament process.

Dr Octavio Lepage spoke about Venezuela's efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Central America conflict. Both politicians praised the constructive results of the last meeting of the Central American presidents in Tela (Honduras), and stressed that their implementation requires great political responsibility from all those involved in the conflict.

During the talk, Willi Stoph pointed to the GDR's positive economic development, which is the basis for the unity of economic and social policy aimed at the well-being of the people. The Venezuelan Congress president explained his government's economic program and pointed to the enormous burden borne by his country with large foreign debts. He stressed Venezuela's position that this is a political problem which can only be solved by equal negotiations between the states concerned.

Fischer Receives President

LD1309115289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0933 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Venezuelan Congress President Dr Octavio Lepage today stressed that more security is not achievable through the concept of "nuclear deterrence," but exclusively through political means through the renunciation of confrontation and hostility in favor of genuine political partnership, mutual understanding, trust and good- neighborly relations. This was noted during an exchange of opinions on the international situation and bilateral relations.

Oskar Fischer exlained the peace program of the Warsaw Treaty member-states to his Venezuelan guest. He said the program is directed toward allowing no standstill in the process of disarmament and toward making the progress achieved so far, irreversible. Their disarmament proposals and unilateral prior concessions require a constructive NATO response.

The Venezuelan Congress president emphasized his country's position that the current problems require responsible actions from all states and that in view of the danger of the annihilation of humanity, global and regional initiatives on maintaining peace are necessary.

Oskar Fischer and Dr Octavio Lepage paid tribute to the results of the latest meeting of Central American Presidents in Tela (Honduras). They are of the opinion that the parties to the conflict must do justice to their political responsibility in implementing the agreements made on a peaceful solution to the conflict in Central America.

Both parties spoke in favor of including both countries' parliaments, still more in extending and deepening their bilateral relations.

Gerlach Receives Lepage

AU1509173989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Sep 89 p 4

[ADN report: "Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany Receives Venezuelan Politician"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received Dr Octavio Lepage, president of the Congress of the Republic of Venezuela and member of the National Leadership of the government party, Democratic Action, in Berlin on Tuesday [12 September]. The GDR politician reported on the tasks of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany in the multi-party system, and stressed that the unity of peace, socialism, and humanism are the basic principle of the liberal democrats' political commitment. [passage omitted]

Dr Octavio Lepage stated with satisfaction that the GDR and Venezuela have the same or similar points of view on many basic questions of international development. This applies especially to disarmament and detente, and the solution of conflicts through peaceful and political means. As a member state of the Contadora Group, Venezuela actively supports all initiatives for a peaceful settlement of all conflicts in Central America, without interference from the outside. [passage omitted]

Tisch, FRG Union Officials Continue Talks

LD1309142289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1229 GMT 13 Sep 89

[Text] Heidelberg (ADN)—The exchange of opinions started between the GDR's trade union organization, the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], and the FRG's German Trade Union Federation [DGB], continued today in Heidelberg with local officials.

At the start of the discussions Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB's National Executive Council and member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo, and DGB Chairman Ernst Breit agreed in stating that their meeting within the framework of their long years of cooperation was positive and fruitful. So far both delegations have held a constructive, open, and honest dialogue, Harry Tisch stated in response to correspondents' questions. During this dialogue, none of the issues which concern both trade union were left out. This was true for both topical political subjects and relations between the two german states.

The representatives of the two unions will continue their exchange of ideas on representing union interests and cooperation in Heidelberg this afternoon. Earlier they visited the historic town and the castle which serve the electors of the palatiante as a residence.

'Unified' Action Needed

LD1509122789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1901 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Stuttgart (ADN)—The FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] National Executive delegation headed by its chairman, Harry Tisch, member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee Politburo, today met with DGB [West German Trade Union Federation] trade unionists in the Stuttgart machine construction firm Werner und Pfleiderer, which has for many years fostered relations with partners in the GDR, for an exchange of views. One hundred local union officials had invited Harry Tisch and DGB Chairman Ernst Breit to a discussion about the Europe of the future from the point of view of the two trade union associations.

Ernst Breit underlined that in view of the increasing power of companies in the formation of the EC internal market, the Western European trade unions must act in a unified fashion more than ever. A goal of their struggle is the creation of an EC social charter for basic social rights so that more or less equal opportunities will be created for the working people in these countries. This is necessary because otherwise the poor will become even poorer and the rich even richer, the DGB chairman explained.

In his opinion—and this thought is also supported by his trade union—the European home that is to be created must not be organized only according to rules and ideas of individual states. It is not a matter of regimentation but of jointly agreed conditions and rules.

Harry Tisch agreed with the previous speaker that in a common European home that stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals, there must not be either "onlookers" or "celler dwellers." Today there is already broad agreement between the unions on many fundamental questions concerning the shaping of this home. On the other hand, the fact must be borne in mind that the FDGB and the DGB operate in different social systems. Such fundamental differences cannot be glossed over. The FDGB chairman pointed out the need for further contributions to the guaranteeing of peace and to disarmament. [passage omitted]

Joint Press Statement

LD1509124189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1051 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Stuttgart (ADN)—The future of a common European home could only be shaped in cooperation with one another and not in confrontation with each other. This was stated by the FDGB and DGB [Free German Trade Union Federation and West German Trade Union Federation] today after a 4-day exchange of views in a "Joint press statement on the visit by an FDGB National Executive delegation to the DGB 12-15 September 1989," published in Stuttgart.

The two German states' trade unions spoke in favor of the continuation and expansion of their over 15 years of cooperation. A relevant agreement was also signed today by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive and member of the SED [Socialist Unity party of Germany] Central Committee Politburo and DGB Chairman Ernst Breit. Afterward, the chairmen of the two organizations answered questions from journalists at an international press conference.

In their joint press statement the FDGB and the DGB praise the "intensive exchange of information and views" between the two delegations. The talks were held in a friendly and open atmosphere. The main topics covered were the activities of the two trade union organizations, international developments, and current questions concerning relations between the FRG and the GDR.

In the statement both sides express their satisfaction that relations between the DGB and the FDGB have developed positively in accordance with the 1987 agreement. Ernst Breit and Harry Tisch had stressed the usefulness of a continuous dialogue between DGB and the FDGB, which is an appropriate means of awakening a better understanding of each other—even with different and opposing positions. The two trade union associations, it is underlined, in this way also want to make their own contribution to the promotion of a normal, good-neighborly relationship between the two German states. The agreed further consolidation of relations between the FDGB and the DGB also serves this aim.

The contribution by the trade unions to the preservation of a permanent peace was central to the discussion of international questions. The 50th anniversary of the world war unleashed by Nazi Germany was a particular spur to the FDGB and DGB to help ensure that Germans will never again give cause for wars, but bring about peace. The two sides welcomed the fact that a change from a policy of confrontation to a policy of detente and disarmament had been introduced. The aim must be to permit no pause in the disarmament process and to make it irreversible. The

two trade unions are in favor of recognizing the inviolability of borders and respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe.

The agreement, signed by Harry Tisch and Ernst Breit, on relations between the FDGB and the DGB contains a series of points which are aimed at continuing and expanding the existing good cooperation between the GDR and the FRG trade unions.

Members of Ligachev Delegation Listed

AU1509122189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Sep 89 p 1

[AND report: "Yegor Ligachev Received for Friendly Talk in the SED Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [12 September] a delegation of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], for a talk, which took place in a very friendly and constructive atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Soviet participants in the talk were the delegation members Y.A. Mananyenko, first secretary of the Lipetsk Oblast CPSU Committee; A.Y. Dubko, chairman of the "Progress" agrarian-industrial kolkhoz [collective farm] complex, Grodno Oblast, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; G.V. Kulik, chairman of the state Agrarian-Industrial Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic; and V.L. Musatov, deputy chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The delegation headed by Yegor Ligachev laid a wreath at the memorial in Berlin-Treptow.

On Tuesday afternoon they were cordially welcomed in the Naechst Neuendorf product-related cooperation group in Zossen Kreis. Together with Werner Krolikowski, the guests acquainted themselves with experiences of the peasants in achieving top performances in plant production and animal husbandry, as well as in the close relations between science and practice. Helmut Semmelmann [director of the Agriculture Department of the SED Central Committee], Guenther Jahn, first secretary of the Potsdam SED leadership, and Prof Dr Dieter Spaar [president of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences] also participated in the exchange of experiences.

Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov was also present.

Weiz, Frolov Discuss Scientific Cooperation

LD1509175589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1436 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Cooperation in the area of research and development between the GDR and the USSR is increasingly bringing high-level results for the intensification of production in both countries. Conditions are good for building on scientific research for future processes of renewal, using the potentialities of both parties, in the coming years, GDR Vice-Premier Dr Herbert Weiz, minister for science and technology, and Professor Dr Konstantin Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted during a discussion in Berlin on Friday.

The interlocuters exchanged views on questions of the further deepening of scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR and of the implementation of the comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress. The direct cooperation of scientists, research institutes, and enterprises of both countries was given every support for this.

In this respect particular importance was attached to the further development of the automation of productions by means of linking mechanical engineering with microelectronics, and the development and application of new materials and technologies.

Professor Frolov pointed out that existing research in the sphere of USSR space technology is now available for use by the national economy and is also being offered to the member states of the CEMA.

CEMA Conference on Automation Opens

AU1509171489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Sep 89 p 4

[ADN report: "CEMA Conference on Instrument Making in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A CEMA conference on scientific instrument making and research automation opened in Berlin on Tuesday [12 September]. At the Third NAUKRIPOR CEMA 89, more than 500 experts from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Hungary will discuss questions of the development of scientific instrument technology in the congress hall in Alexanderplatz until Friday [15 September].

International Nutritional Experts Meet

AU1409175589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting on Questions of Healthy Diet"]

[Text] Leipzig—Some 600 scientists from the GDR, Belgium, Bulgaria, the CSSR, Poland, the USSR, and Hungary have been discussing questions concerning healthy diets at a 3-day exchange of opinions in Leipzig, which started on Monday [11 September]. According to Guenter Gebhardt, chairman of the GDR Society for Nutrition, which has organized the meeting, the society wants to bring about even more intensive interdisciplinary cooperation between animal diet experts, experts in human medicine, biochemists and food chemists, nutritionists, and other experts. It was stated that a number of

illnesses continue to be caused by wrong diets, such as the excessive consumption of fat, sugar, salt, and by too little roughage.

Trade Minister Receives Ghanaian Official

AU1509171089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Ghanaian Education Minister for Talks in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Kofi Baprui Asante, secretary of education and culture of the Republic of Ghana, who is presently in the GDR, was received by GDR Foreign Trade Minister Beil on Tuesday [12 September]. During their talk, they discussed steps to deepen the traditionally close cooperation in equipping educational facilities in Ghana.

Bishop Leich Praises Country's Achievements

LD1609154289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Bishop Leich is convinced that what has been achieved in the GDR's 40 year history for the well-being of the people deserves lasting recognition. The chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Executives, speaking at the fifth meeting of the federation's synod, cited the peace policy, the fight against Nazi ideas, and support for social security for all. He also pointed to equal opportunities in jobs and education, as well as a communal share in the fruits of labor. All this must be retained, he said. In view of the fact that citizens are leaving the country, the bishop said: It is the church's intention that our citizens remain in the GDR. Dialogue and partnership are needed for this, and citizens should not shirk their responsibility for state and society. The onward path will be very demanding, but is worth following.

Church Employees Urge Reforms

LD1609195189 Hamburg DPA in German 1137 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Eisenach (DPA)—Church employees, who are members of the GDR's Christian Democratic Union [CDU], have put forward a series of reform proposals in a letter to members and executives of the CDU. This letter was mentioned today at the synod of the federation of evangelical churches in the GDR in Eisenach. The signatories support increased "democracy within the party" and are in favor of a change in home policy, respect by the state for the "citizen's maturity," as well as improvements in opportunities to travel. The CDU's party congresses should be used more to pass "quite specific and independent proposals for the solution of social problems."

Martina Huhn, a member of the synod, a signatory of the letter, and a CDU politician, told members of the synod that the church should not constantly deputize for the political parties. There has to be an open discussion within the CDU itself on the country's problems. [passage omitted]

The CDU letter is the first document to become known in which members of a party in the GDR speak out critically and support significant improvements and efforts for reform. One of the CDU member's important demands is an improvement in forming public opinion: "A media policy that puts its trust in suppressing facts, keeping quiet, and glossing things over makes its cause incredible, annoys people, and opens up broad gaps for the Western media in the GDR's media landscape."

The four signatories, who say they speak for a large number of other CDU members, stress that the GDR's current press policy represents "one of the main causes in the area of the emigration problem." The signatories also call for their party to press in the Council of Ministers for the many rules on secrecy in the GDR to be examined and "reduced to the minimum necessary."

Within the so-called democratic block of GDR parties, the CDU representatives should work to ensure that more party members reach important positions. It is stressed: "At government level it must be possible in the medium term to appoint, in accordance with the people's chamber composition, three to five ministers and an appropriate number of state secretaries." Improvements should be made for the GDR citizens in the border area. They too must in the future be allowed to receive visitors from the Federal Republic.

Member of the church assembly Martin Kirchner (Eisenach) advocated, on the margin of the synod, a stronger distinctive definition of his party and of the other parties as well. The CDU should show commitment to what the citizens of the country think and demand. The GDR needs a "socialism that is truly democratic."

Members Explain Proposals

LD1609200789 Hamburg DPA in German 1415 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] Signatories of the letter from "Weimar to the members and the executive boards of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]" stressed to journalists on the sidelines of the synod that their proposals are in accord with the party statute. They do not want to "form an opposition group in the CDU," nor do they want to split it; they want rather "to be more a part of it," church assembly member Kirchner said. The church must continue to speak out on relevant political issues, but "now it is the turn of the established parties" in the GDR. Here there is lethargy.

The chief editor of the Thuringian church newspaper GLAUBE UND HEIMAT (Church and Homeland), Gottfried Mueller, when asked about a possible response to the letter in his party, said the document expresses the opinion of a considerable part of the CDU membership, the majority of whom want the party to take a new direction.

The signatories stressed that the basic concerns of socialism, such as the social ownership of the means of production, should not be touched, but that a changed socialism is urgently necessary. All parties in the GDR should reflect on how power is exercised in the country and whether completely new models are not necessary here.

Superintendent Heino Falcke (Erfurt) said with regard to the latest demonstrations by independent groups in the GDR that the groups will now bring the suppressed conflicts in the GDR onto the streets as they represent many other people. Falcke also mentioned the founding of critical initiatives, which are striving for political changes in the GDR. Many pastors are beginning to take part in them. The church should not distance itself from them, but should say: "You do it on your own responsibility."

Pastor Welcomes Reform Groups

LD1709155589 Hamburg DPA in German 1424 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Hanover (DPA)—The East Berlin opposition figure, Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, has welcomed the latest establishment of GDR reform groups politically outside the churches. This shows that more and more people are prepared to come out openly for changes in the GDR, Eppelmann said on Sunday in a telephone conversation with DPA. In his view, more groups would "shoot up out of the ground like mushrooms" in the coming weeks. The most important task now was to "integrate" their activities, in order to form a strong movement for reform.

The GDR pastor called upon the parties in the FRG Bundestag to do more to "step up" the dialogue between the rulers in the GDR and the reform movement. He said he was "disappointed" about the East Berlin leadership's cancellation of a visit involving social Democratic party of Germany parliamentarians. This was "just as stupid" as the decision by the Christian Democratic Union in Bonn not to go to the GDR. "There is no alternative to dialogue", Eppelmann said.

Opposition Groups Planning Countrywide Meeting

LD1409095589 Hamburg DPA in German 0852 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The opposition in the GDR is regrouping. The various groups are planning a countrywide meeting in East Berlin for the beginning of October. This has been announced by the Erfurt priest and professor, Edelbert Richter, one of the spokesmen of the newly formed "Democratic Departure" [demokratischer aufbruch] in Bonn. This group, like the recently emerged "New Forum" considers itself to be a "political association," in which as broad a spectrum as possible of critical people and groups can work together.

Richter hopes that the various initiatives—including one aiming to found a social democratic party in the GDR—will be able to agree upon a joint strategy at the meeting in East Berlin. Even if they do not initially form a party, the objective could be to campaign as an opposition list at the next People's Chamber elections in 1991. Richter used a business trip to hold exploratory talks with politicians of the Greens and the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] in Bonn.

In view of the wave of emigrants, it is important now to give some kind of signal and to create a new political perspective for critical citizens in the GDR. "If we don't act now it will be too late," said Richter. More and more, critical GDR citizens will realize that they "must move beyond spontaneous, uncoordinated individual action." In his opinion, there are definite chances that an opposition grouping in the GDR will be tolerated at least on a semi-legal basis. Even among Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members, it is increasingly felt that the social discussion must be conducted more openly. A possible replacement of GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker could accelerate such a development.

It is important to Richter and his friends that they not be labelled together with right-wing, anti-communist forces. "We still stand by the GDR and socialism." The "Democratic Departure" is pursuing social and ecological goals, and sees itself as an opportunity for the SED and for GDR society to hold dialogue on a better path to socialism. The SED's monoply claim to truth must be stopped. "It may retain its leading role, but this must be open to criticism." The opposition in the GDR now expects more than just good words or material support from the Federal Republic. Political reactions are also important, such as new disarmament offers and recognition of GDR citizenship. Thus the SED arguements about the partitioning of the GDR can be overcome.

Trial of Accused War Criminal Gets Under Way

AU1509172889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Sep 89 p 4

[Karin Wenk/Dietmar Kroschy report: "Trail of War Criminal Starts at the Rostock Bezirk Court"]

[Excerpts] Rostock—The trial of Jakob Holz, former member of the Fascist Works Protection Force, started in the first criminal division of the Rostock Bezirk court on Tuesday [12 September]. [passage omitted]

Inge Kersten, director of the bezirk court, chairs the public trial. Bezirk attorney Harry Mueller is the public prosecutor, the accused is defended by lawyer Norbert Krohn.

Presenting the indictment, the public prosecutor evaluated the actions of Jakob Holz as crimes against international law, the danger, execution, and consequences of which go far beyond known forms of criminality and cannot be compared to traditional homicide or other serious crimes. [passage omitted]

On the first day of the trial, the accused was questioned about personal data and his function and position as a

member of the works protection force. The trial will be continued on Wednesday [13 September]. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-12 Sep

AU1409120389

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 12-17 September reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo, attended a reception hosted by the Bulgarian ambassador in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception hosted by the Ethiopian ambassador in Berlin on 11 September. (12 Sep, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, attended the opening of the Warsaw Days in Berlin on 11 September. (12 Sep, p 1) He hosted a reception for the PRC delegation to the Beijing Days in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 1) He opened the 31st Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow in Berlin on 12 September. (13 Sep, p 8)

Politburo members Horst Sindermann, Hans-Joachim Boehme, and Kurt Hager attended the opening of the Bad Frankenhausen Peasant War Memorial on 14 September. (15 Sep, p 1)

Politburo member Hans-Joachim Boehme attended the opening of the Halle Bezirk 32d Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow on 15 September. (16-17 Sep, p 6)

Politburo member Kurt Hager attended a festive concert organized by the GDR Cultural League on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. (16-17 Sep, p 1)

Politburo member Guenther Schabowski spoke at the 14th Berlin Best Workers Conference on 14 September. (15 Sep, pp 1,3)

Politburo candidate member Gerhard Mueller attended the handing over of a greenhouse facility in Wahlhausen, Heiligenstadt Kreis, and conveyed greetings and thanks from Erich Honecker to the peasants and all inhabitants of the town on 15 September. (16-17 Sep, p 6)

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received Yasushi Akashi, UN deputy secrtary general for disarmament, in Berlin on 15 September. (16-17 Sep, p 1)

Further on Refugee Situation, Border Opening

500 Refugees Cross to Bavaria

LD1509084889 Hamburg DPA in German 0710 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Passau/Freilassing (DPA)—Last night around 500 more GDR escapees came to Bavaria from Hungary at the road and rail crossings at Passau and Freilassing. Three buses carrying families with children traveled on to accommodation provided by the Federal Border Protection force at Grafenau in the Bayerischer forest. After a short stop to take on provisions, a special train from Vienna traveled to the Muensterland, the border authorities said.

Today five buses with around 300 resettlers and others in private cars are expected.

Refugee Official Interviewed

LD1609214189

[Editorial report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1400 GMT on 16 September in the "168 Hours" program broadcasts an interview with Jozsef Zarnoczi, head of the Interior Ministry's office for refugee affairs. The announcer says, "The GDR authorities are still not restricting travel to Hungary by their citizens; thus several hundreds of them still arrive here daily. There currently are more than 500 in the Zugliget camp, and statements from those who direct Hungarian foreign policy suggest that there is growing interest in our country not only from the GDR, but from Czechoslovakia, and the USSR." He asks Zarnoczi about the foreseeable consequences of this.

Zarnoczi replies: The number of those of Romanian nationality has risen. Earlier, according to last year's statistics, they accounted for 7-8 percent; now they reach 26-27 percent, according to the monthly statistical data."

The announcer asks what this means in numbers.

Zarnoczi says: "At present, the number of those who have received residence permits is 19,200; of these, about 16,000 are of Magyar nationality, 2,500 are of Romanian nationality, and about 800 are of German nationality, that is, the number of Saxons." He says. A large portion of those of Romanian nationality want to travel on to third countries, which is problematic since there are only a limited number of visas admitting them into third countries.

"With regard to those from Slovakia and sub-Carpathia we have no concrete figures. It appears that there is interest, and they are waiting for the Council of Ministers' decree to come into force."

He explains the decree is "the legal regulation pertaining to procedures in refugees affairs, and the Hungarian People's Republic Presidential Council's decree of legal force on the legal status of refugees."

The announcer says: "In practice, the issue is that Hungary has announced it is joining the Geneva convention on refugee affairs, but the procedural regulations of this must be created for domestic practice."

Zarnoczi says: "That is so, and this is under way. By the same token, according to the plans, a control group or organ from the office of refugee affairs will operate at the reception stations that will open in Hajduszoboszlo and Bekescsaba; it will first judge the refugee status on the basis of the Geneva convention—whether or not refugee status is valid at all."

He says according to the Geneva convention, for one to be regarded as a refugee one must prove that one is politically persecuted or discriminated against. If people are not kept on record in Hungary as being refugees, their status will consist of their being able to get residence permits, and their being able to travel on if they have a visa admitting them into a third country. Soon, the Budapest office of the UN high commission for refugee affairs will open, and this will help to obtain visas from third countries so such people can travel on. The Interior Ministry office for refugee affairs plays a liason, coordinating role in this process.

Very few people will meet the criteria of being refugees, Zarnoczi continues, and this applies even to those who have escaped from Romania. They will be kept on record mainly on the basis of humanitarian reasons. The objective in practice, is for those of Hungarian nationality to obtain Hungarian citizenship. If they are not given refugee status, they will remain under police surveillance as applies to aliens. Only those who pursue a life of crime or who commit crimes against Hungarian laws will be returned. If there is no other reason that would bar this, they will be given residence permits. There are two types of resident permit at present, one lasting for 6 months, and one for 2 years.

With regard to financing the provisions for such people who have fled to Hungary, Zarnoczi says there is a settlement fund, amounting to 300 million forints. The National Assembly supplements this annually with 100 million forints. This fund has practically run out. The UN high commission for refugee affairs has promised to ensure $5.2 million for this year. The concrete agreement that regulates this and lays down the Hungarian state's obligations will be signed soon; in this, it is concretely stipulated what this $5.2 million can be used for: primarily for equipping, renovating, and providing technical tools for the reception stations. The operation of the reception stations will cost more than 100 million forints annually. None of the reception stations have been opened yet, but according to plans two should be opened on 15 October, and one will open in Bicske early next year. According to estimates, it costs 500 million forints to equip and arrange the ownership of these three long-term reception stations; the UN high commission has undertaken 254 million forints of this sum, thus contributing to the equipping costs. The remainder must

be ensured by the Hungarian state, and further sums will be requested from the government.

Nemeth Justifies Border Opening

LD1609194189 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn, September 16 (MTI)—We have permitted over 10,000 persons, citizens of the German Democratic Republic wishing to resettle in the FRG, to cross Hungary's borders in the name of humanitarianism, Miklos Nemeth, Hungarian prime minister said in an interview to the magazine BILD AM SONNTAG. The text of the interview was made avaliable to MTI'S Bonn office one day prior to publication.

We are aware that the decision does not solve essential problems, but the key to those are not in our hands. It is an issue that remains to be ultimately solved by the two German states.

The GDR, our allied partner has expressed criticism for our procedure. The only response I can give however is that Hungary opened its borders in conformity with the Helsinki accord. If we are earnestly set on building the European house, as described by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, we cannot shut down our borders again. In the house we are to build, there can be no rooms separating people with barbed wire—concludes Mr Nemeth in the interview.

More Refugees Arrive in Bavaria

LD1709100189 Hamburg DPA in German 0447 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Munich (DPA)—Around 900 GDR refugees arrived in Bavaria late last night/early this morning. Refugees, 373 of them, who came from Budapest in seven buses were accommodated at the Federal Border Protection Force camps of Grafenau and Deggendorf, as well as at the tent camp in Tiefenbach. Another 214 GDR refugees travelled directly to the Schoeppingen transit camp near Muenster in two carriages added to the scheduled train from Vienna. Apart from these more than 300 individuals arrived mainly via the Passau-Suben crossing point and a few via Freilassing. [passage omitted]

Since the start of the exodus last Monday, around 10,600 people have been taken through the recognition process by the Federal Border Protection Force. This morning the Federal Border Protection Force put the total number of GDR citizens who had fled at way over 14,000.

CSSR-Hungarian Border Overrun

AU1709155489 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Report by Michael Kerbler]

[Excerpt] Almost 1,100 GDR resettlers have reached Austrian territory during the past 24 hours [16-17 September], mainly via the Nickelsdorf border checkpoint in Burgenland. Thus, approximately 15,500 GDR refugees have arrived in Austria since the Austro-Hungarian border was opened early this week. The majority of the GDR citizens has already arrived in the FRG and, after passing through the Bavarian reception camps, has moved on to cities all over the FRG. Because admission procedures have already been completed for some 11,000 GDR resettlers, the FRG authorities have started to disband temporary accommodation facilities.

Dramatic events have been reported from the CSSR-Hungarian border last night. Several dozen GDR citizens managed to flee to Hungarian territory. Some of them crashed through CSSR border barriers in their cars and continued their escape on foot.

Numerous refugees who arrived in Nickelsdorf this morning had also illegally crossed the Czechoslovak border into Hungary. The Austrian Red Cross has provided aid for these GDR citizens in Nickelsdorf. [passage omitted]

CSSR Train Refugees Misdirected

AU1709183889 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] Day after day, people from the GDR whom Hungary is allowing to emigrate to the FRG continue arriving in Budapest. More than 300 have arrived here today. However, an increasing number of them do not have valid Hungarian visas. They find their way to Budapest via the CSSR. People here state that East Berlin is now taking a stricter position against those who want to visit the Hungarian ally. For example, there are more and more cases in which visas that were already granted are withdrawn again.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Mr Wagner, the GDR is stopping more and more would-be emigres. Is this only a rumor, or can this information be taken seriously?

[Wolfgang Wagner, member of Maltese Relief Organization in Budapest] No, these are the facts. Yesterday, for example, some 40 people were taken off a train—families, with children, who held valid visas. In the CSSR, plainclothes GDR officers in Czechoslovak cars show GDR would-be emigres the wrong way and send them back to the GDR. Most would-be emigres are now risking their lives and reach our country only by swimming across the Danube. [end recording]

FRG's Genscher Interviewed

LD1709202989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given; interview conducted in German with superimposed Hungarian translation; from "The Week" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] In one of your statements, when you expressed your thanks, you said that the Federal

Republic will never forget the Hungarian people's humane conduct. Can we interpret this as a concrete promise? Has the Hungarian Government's decision had such a favorable effect on relations?

[Genscher] I would like to repeat that we in the FRG, the people, the government, have been deeply moved by the conduct of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian Government. This conduct stems from the finest traditions of European spiritual and cultural history. It is the conduct of humaneness. A new type, a new way of thinking has come to the forefront here, where Hungary's words have been followed by action. And this is the spirit in which the common European house must be built, the house of open doors, and not a house in which the doors are walled up.

[Correspondent] Mr Genscher, one of the GDR's positions is that behind the opening of the Hungarian-Austrian border there lies a hidden organized trade in people. Can you confirm or deny this?

[Genscher] I consider this kind of evaluation completely wrong and absolutely unfounded. The reason why so many people, and mainly young people, want to leave the GDR, is to be found not in the FRG, not in Hungary, but in the GDR, only the GDR can put a stop to these reasons. These young people would like to see prospects in front of them. These young people would like greater individuality. They do not want to be led on a leash or be patronized. It is absolutely certain that in the case of these young people, it is not material things that play the chief role. It is not easy to decide to leave one's homeland, one's familiar surroundings, everything that one remembers ever since one's childhood. That is also why I consider it so important that this decision be respected. Hungary has done this. I think we cannot wish that the wall built by Berlin should also be erected in Budapest.

[Correspondent] Do you mean by this that this affair has no financial connections?

[Genscher] Look, if we speak about a trade in people, a corollary of that is that the people are paid for. This runs counter to the pride of the Hungarian people and it runs counter to the pride of the FRG as well.

[Correspondent] In New York you will be meeting [Hungarian] Foreign Minister Horn. Then, as we expect, you will soon also be holding discussions in Budapest. What will you discuss with Mr Horn?

[Genscher] First of all, I hope that I will be able to talk to him about a Budapest discussion, because I would like to express the FRG's thanks also on the spot. Naturally, we will talk about East- West relations. Above all, however, we will talk about how we can further improve cooperation between the FRG and Hungary. For the development of processes that go in the right direction in Hungary is good not only for the Hungarians, but [word indistinct] for the development of the whole of Europe.

[Correspondent] Mr Genscher, both you and other government personalities have said several times that the Federal Republic is interested in the success of the Hungarian reform process. In what way can it, or does it want to, contribute to the reforms, and what theoretical political consideration stands behind this?

[Genscher] The way in which we can contribute to the success, above all, is to help the economic reforms to achieve results, that Hungary should start out on a good economic development. We are ready for economic, technological, and financial cooperation. As for the particular social and political problems, naturally these have to be resolved by Hungary itself in the best way it sees fit. But it goes without saying that we support the reform process.

MSZMP's Ormos Comments on Berlin Visit, Talks

LD1509200489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] [Announcer] During her 3-day Berlin visit, Maria Ormos, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Political Executive Committee member, conducted exchanges of views with politicians of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. After her return home, she summed up her Berlin experiences for the newsreel first of all:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] It appears that the GDR leadership has not undertaken the political decision to prohibit its citizens leaving the country. They exported this task to Hungary, and now they are calling us to account for it.

[Ormos] As for why a decision, a decision along these lines, has failed or not failed to materialize is something I cannot comment on. Undoubtedly, such a decision has not come into being and this further aggravates the problems for Hungary. It is absolutely certain that the thing cannot be settled on the basis of the 1969 agreement.

[Announcer] As you talked with the GDR leaders, what was your opinion as to how they see the solution of this problem?

[Ormos] Comrade Kurt Hager alluded to the problem, and he said that a big impact was made by the phenomenon which has evolved around this, in the entire country. He also alluded to the fact that far-reaching consequences must be drawn in connection with the fact that hundreds, thousands, or perhaps even more, of the young citizens of the state want to leave, and are preparing to leave, the country.

[Announcer] If I have understood correctly, then according to your experiences, the political leaders are not expressing themselves in as definite a manner as the information reaching us via the German press.

[Ormos] I saw a big difference between the discussions that have been held in practice and the GDR press. Nothing of this kind emerged at all at this discussion. It

was objective, relaxed, and directed toward a solution, first and foremost. [end recording]

Hungary-Isreal To Establish Diplomatic Relations

Announcement on Ties in 'Day or 2'

TA1809102989 Tel Aviv YEDIOT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Sep 89 p 5

[Report from Budapest by Yehuda Lahav]

[Text] Hints from reliable Hungarian sources indicate that within a day or 2, Budapest is expected to make an announcement in connection with the date for establishing diplomatic relations between Hungary and Israel.

Sources in the Israeli representation in Budapest refused to confirm or deny the report, and official Hungarian sources last night avoided commenting on it. Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn told a Hungarian newspaper that there is no doubt that relations with Israel will be established before the end of the year. It now appears that that means within the coming weeks or even days.

Israeli Official Arrives for Talks

LD1809103689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The head of Israeli diplomacy, Moshe Arnes, has arrived in Budapest on a lightning visit for Hungarian-Israeli foreign ministerial discussions. Nothing definite can be ascertained about the agenda, but there is very great interest in it, since months ago statements were heard about the restoration of diplomatic relations—severed in 1967—being possible this year.

Two years ago, an agreement was signed in Bern on the basis of which Hungarian and Israeli interest representation bureaus were set up reciprocally. High-level discussions on economic relations between the two countries have speeded up since the establishment of these bureaus. Trade during the past 2 years has doubled: In 1988 it reached $31.5 million, and now shows at $10.5 million surplus. This, however is significantly less than the possibilities allow.

Agreement Concluded, Ties Restored

AU1809115089 Paris AFP in English 1139 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, Sept 18 (AFP)—Hungary and Israel restored full diplomatic relations Monday after a break of 22 years, the Hungarian news agency MTI reported. An agreement normalising relations was signed here by Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn and Moshe Arens.

Hungary is the first of the East Bloc states which broke with Israel in 1967, to restore formal ties with the Jewish state. All members of the Warsaw Pact, with the exception of Romania, severed diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mr Arens arrived in Budapest earlier Monday on an unannounced visit, generating a flurry of speculation about his trip. Rumours about an impending restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel had been rife here since the beginning of the year. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir was here on an "unofficial visit" last April 17.

The Hungarian Foreign Affairs Secretary of State, Laszlo Kovacs said the two countries enjoyed relatively good trade relations. Total exchanges for last year were worth 31.5 million U.S. dollars, he noted.

Horn, Arens Cited on Resuming Ties

LD1809133189 Budapest MTI in English 1152 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Budapest, September 18, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A protocol on the reestablishment of Hungarian-Israeli diplomatic relations was signed today in Budapest by Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister and Moshe Arens, his Israeli counterpart.

Hungary thus became the first to reestablish diplomatic ties with Israel of those socialist countries which cut relations after the Arab-Israeli war in 1967.

Foreign Minister Horn said today, that the reestablishment of diplomatic ties with Israel, after 22 years, means that Hungary gets rid of past mistakes and makes proof of its new way of thinking.

'Hungary is against confrontation, endorsed the dialogue and wants good relationships based on mutual advantages,' he said, and added: 'This step is not aimed against anybody and will probably be helpful in solving the Middle East conflict'.

Moshe Arens also emphasized that the signing of the protocol was 'a historic step to the right direction.' [passage omitted]

Envoy to Hungary To Be Ambassador

TA1809123589 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Hungary and Israel have reestablished diplomatic ties at the ambassadorial level. Our correspondent in Budapest reports that Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and his counterpart Gyula Horn this morning signed the agreement on the reestablishment of full ties.

Shlomo Merom, the head of the Israeli interests office, will be Israel's ambassador to Hungary. Budapest, however, will probably prefer to replace the head of its interest office with another diplomat as ambassador. [passage omitted]

Arens Interviewed on Ties

TA1809131789 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1205 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Telephone interview with Foreign Minister Moshe Arens in Budapest by Me'ir Einstein—live]

[Text] [Einstein] Full diplomatic relations between Israel and Hungary were restored today. Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, who is in Budapest, signed for Israel. Good day, Minister Arens.

[Arens] Shalom.

[Einstein] We are told that there was great excitement at the event; were you, too, personally excited?

[Arens] I certainly was. I viewed the signing of the agreement to renew diplomatic relations as an event of historic importance. This is because of the history of the Jewish community in Hungary; I mentioned during today's ceremony that the majority of Hungary's Jewish population was wiped out during the last months of World War II. It is also due to the fact that after 22 years, Hungary took a courageous step under difficult conditions—since the Hungarian Government has many other problems—deciding that it is in its own interest to restore relations with Israel. I must point out that the effort which led to this historic occasion was invested by Foreign Ministry officials, but first of all by the prime minister, who twice visited Hungary and laid the foundations for the occasion in which I had the honor of participating.

[Einstein] Prime Minister Shamir said a short time ago that it is a historic breakthrough for the restoration of full diplomatic relations with other East Bloc countries.

[Arens] I believe it will certainly influence other countries. Here, too, they believe that will be the case.

[Einstein] Minister Arens, what are your expectations from the resumption of ties? We know, for instance, that Hungary hopes for economic improvement in the wake of closer ties with Israel. What are our expectations?

[Arens] First, I told Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn that there have been and still are countries which maintain diplomatic relations on the basis of ideological considerations. They try to keep us in isolation, a move which only hurts them. On the other hand, there are relations between countries whether they agree ideologically or not, which in the final analysis benefits both sides. I am certain that the relations we are building with Hungary will benefit both sides economically, socially, and politically.

[Einstein] When we speak about political benefits, does the resumption of ties with Hungary signal an early resumption of ties with the USSR?

[Arens] That could be. I told the Hungarian foreign minister that I suppose the USSR will follow in Hungary's footsteps, and not the other way around. They said here that it would not be the first time such a thing has happened.

[Einstein] Thank you, Foreign Minister Arens in Budapest. You are returning home and then taking off again tonight for the United States. Have a good trip.

[Arens] Goodbye.

MTI on Restoration of Ties

AU1809130489 Budapest MTI in English 1230 GMT 18 Sep 89

["Hungarian-Israeli Diplomatic Ties Restored"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—On Monday in Budapest, Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Moshe Arens of Israel signed and exchanged the documents providing for the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the State of Israel, thereby establishing diplomatic links on the ambassadorial level.

At the same time, the Hungarian Government expressed its thanks to the Swedish Government for carrying out the interest representation of Hungary in Israel since the breaking off of diplomatic relations on June 12, 1967.

Vatican Reacts Favorably To Restoring Ties

LD1509182189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] In the Vatican there has been favorable reaction to the message from the Hungarian premier which pertains to the restoration of diplomatic relations. Peter Magyar reports from Rome.

[Magyar] The Vatican receives with pleasure the Hungarian Government's initiative to restore diplomatic relations which were broken off 40 years ago. In reply to the Budapest announcement yesterday, this was affirmed today by both the spokesman fo the Vatican press office and the official publication of the Church State, L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO.

Here, in the Catholic Church's headquarters, the development is assessed as significant, but it is also regarded as the logical continuation of the hitherto policy of small steps which was launched by the agreement that was signed exactly 25 years ago today. Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, then foreign minister of the Vatican, now head of the curia, signed this with the then chairman of the Office for Church Affairs. The agreement, underlines L'OSSERVATORE, eliminated mutual distrust and launched a constructive, mutually fruitful dialogue, improving in small steps, from stage to stage, the relationship between the State and Church. As a result of this, the Hungarian Catholic Church is currently present

in society. Legal pastors, bishops appointed with the agreement of the Pope, and the Hungarian Government head the dioceses.

It unequivocally emerges from the tone of reminiscence that while the Vatican senses and assesses positively the reforms that are currently taking place, which according to its hopes will create further guarantees for the practice of religious freedom and improve the possibilities for the church to function in Hungary, it does not see the need for a (?complete) break with the past. In its view, the past 25 years are also positive since Hungary was the first East European country with which it managed to shape an official dialogue.

Thus, in its view, diplomatic relations are the logical continuation of what has happened to date. In the Vatican there is a high evaluation of how human rights, including the right to practice religion, are respected in Hungary and the development of the constitutional state. The new constitution, which could provide further guarantees in this sphere, is looked forward to with anticipation. The Pope's visit to Hungary could crown the process. Here this still is seen as being possible about 1991.

Vatican observers unanimously believe that if John Paul II visits Hungary, this visit will represent the recognition and vigorous support of the renewed Hungarian democratic constitutional statehood.

Nemeth Meets With Prelates

LD1509201589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The government strives for dialogue and cooperation with every significant social factor and in this the role of the churches is of fundamental importance. Premier Miklos Nemeth stressed this today when he met at parliament house with Catholic prelates led by Cardinal Laszlo Paskai.

[Unidentified correspondent] During the discussion an understanding developed to the effect that the Catholic Church and the government are ready to cooperate in the interest of social renewal and a peaceful transition.

In connection with the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Vatican Dr Laszlo Paskai, cardinal-primate and archbishop of Esztergom, stressed: The Hungarian Catholic Church considers the government's initiative an encouraging and positive step.

Miklos Nemeth promised that in connection with the Pope's planned visit to Hungary the government will offer every assistance for the worthy reception of the eminent guest.

The premier emphasized: The government is willing, in accordance with its possibilities, to support the Catholic Church to enable it to develop educational, social and charitable activity to be performed in the interest of society.

Miklos Nemeth noted: The government deems freedom of conscience and religion a basic human right, and it also deems necessary the development of a system of legal guarantees for the free practice of religion.

The Council of Ministers proposes to bring into being a national council for religious affairs for the purpose of making the dialogue with the churches more continuous and substantive. Miklos Nemeth called on the participants in the meeting to help the work of the council. The church leaders accepted the appeal.

Deputies By-Election Begins in County Zala

LD1609131989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] A by-election of deputies has begun in a County Zala constituency. It is expected that over 30,000 will come to the urns to elect a deputy to the vacant parliament seat from among the three candidates. The candidates are Istvan Gyorffy, who is running as a Hungarian Socialist Workers Party member, (Gyula Marx) representing the Democratic Forum, the Free Democrats, and the Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth, and the candidate of the Social Democrats, (Istvan Sany).

Opposition Candidate Wins

LD1609202789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] The opposition candidate has won in the County Zala No.2 National Assembly constituency. Dr Gyula Marx was supported by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the Federation of Young Democrats. According to provisional statistics, the new deputy got into parliament with a 60 percent majority of votes.

Candidates Comment on Results

LD1709175689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] In Zalagerszeg, Dr Gyula Marx, the opposition candidate and winner in yesterday's by-elections, has received his deputy's letter of mandate. The new deputy said that the outcome of the election has once again shown that people desire a radical change and that for this they pin their hopes on the opposition first and foremost. At the same time, he also stressed that in his opinion this country can not be governed without the communists and neither would it be right if they were excluded from governmental responsibility.

Istvan Gyorfy, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) candidate, who lost in the election, said that if the MSZMP does not become a party with a program, then it could meet with a similar failure everywhere.

Further Reportage on Opposition Roundtable Talks

Politicians on MSZMP Session

LD1409133489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Summary] We have asked the views of a few opposition organizations about the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee session which ended yesterday and about the communique which was issued—Csaba Vargha, spokesman of the Hungarian People's Party, Gyorgy Ruttner, a representative of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary; and Viktor Orban, representative of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats].

[Begin Vargha recording] "Many people have feared that the fundamentalist and centreist groups of the present Central Committee might forge unity in such a way that they would veto the agreements concluded by the MSZMP negotiating team [at the trilateral negotiations]. There was no veto of this very important political condition for reaching a final agreement this weekend or next week. The MSZMP recognizes that there is a need for internal democracy. Until now party members have been serfs." [end recording]

[Begin Ruttner recording] "I have not sensed a decisive breakthrough." The promotion of a transition to a multiparty system is not something subject to MSZMP statutes. Therefore, submission of the draft statute advances matters no further. I think the transition would be helped decisively by abolishing the workers' guard, which is essentially the armed body of the MSZMP. [end recording]

[Begin Orban recording] "Pratically speaking, there is nothing whatsoever in this communique." I regret that despite an MSZMP announcement to the contrary months ago, the public is still excluded from the Central Committee session. There is one very important idea in the communique about the need for a change of direction and quality in external economic relations. "It is a welcome measure if it recognizes a need to review our relationship with or perhaps a departure from the CEMA; but if it only means a more gradual orientation to the West than hitherto then there is no change whatsover in the stance." Another important thing is that Central Committee says that it considers as rational the elaboration of several variants of economic policy in today's circumstances. "For me it means in plain language that this Communist Party has no program for the solving the present economic crisis." [end recording]

Talks With Medgyessy

LD1409231489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The so-called economic section of the Opposition Roundtable has had talks with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy and the government's experts today. Naturally, both parties have outlined their views on the situation of Hungary.

[Correspondent] The opposition has asked the government to halt immediately the sale of state property and to issue a guarantee against the misuse of authority regarding the sale of properties abroad and in Hungary at under its real value. According to the reply, the package plan containing this will be put to the government shortly.

The opposition has criticized the delay in the liquidation of permanently money-losing enterprises. This, however, in certain cases affects such masses, and starts such an avalanche, that the process demands a gradual approach, although not all delays can be justified by this. According to the crisis-handling working group, the only constructive element of the endeavors outlined today is that we want to switch over to a convertible account system with the Soviet partner.

It has proved to be a general opinion that in these grave times, the government seems to be weak, that is, it does not get a grip on many harmful processes. According to some, the reason for this is that before the new elections, none of the parties wants to undertake the disclosure of programs which would damage their chances during the first big test of strength.

New Round of Talks Opens

LD1509202589 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—The new round of the medium-level trilateral political talks started with announcements out of agenda. On behalf of the Federation of Hungarian Resistance Fighters, Anti-Fascists (MEASZ), Istvan Darvasi protested against the anti-communist statements made by two members of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) at an election rally in Zalagerszeg this week. The Opposition Roundtable took note of the protest, then a FIDESZ delegate remarked that the statement had been cited incorrectly in the press. (A FIDESZ speaker said "The communists must be ground into dust in the elections.") Chairman Zoltan Gal proposed that the statements made elsewhere should not be brought to the trilateral talks. A delegate of the Democratic Youth Union (DEMISZ) said that the protest was made by MEASZ rather than by the third side.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party delegation was headed by Imre Pozsgay, the delegation of the Opposition Roundtable by Jozsef Antall, and that of the third side by Nandor Burgar.

Operations To Cease

LD1509214289 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—In preparation for the parliamentary elections, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) held a rally in Budapest on Friday.

Imre Konya, member of the Independent Lawyers' Forum which stands close to HDF, spoke of the lessons of the

operation of the Opposition Roundtable (EKA). This new political factor can no longer be disregarded, he said. The talks are soon to end. Since EKA has carried out its mission, it is soon to cease operation, Mr Konya said.

Writer Istvan Csurka, member of the HDF National Board, said that, during the few months of its existence, EKA did more in the interest of creating a state of law than the parliaments and governments of the preceding forty years.

He warned that October 23, the forthcoming anniversary of the outbreak of the 1956 popular uprising, would be a very difficult day in Hungarian history. People in the streets on the day will carry a great deal of responsibility, as subsequently there will be no chance of reversing history.

In conclusion, Mr Csurka emphasized that the Hungarian professionals should take actions, pointing beyond the declarations, to prevent the ruling establishment which has sacrificed the HSWP, from preserving its power in post-election times. [as received]

'Genuine Advance' Lacking

LD1509220489 Budapest MTI in English 2055 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 15 (MTI)—As reported earlier, the trilateral political talks continued on Friday, but the sides failed to make a genuine advance.

Reacting to a former proposal by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the representatives of the Opposition Roundtable (EKA) announced that they would consent to the establishment of a Constitutional Court provided that an agreement is reached on the full text of the amendment to the constitution. At the same time, the EKA insists that parliament should not be allowed to change the decisions of the Constitutional Court. EKA proposed that the Constitutional Court be composed of 15 judges elected for a term of nine years. The EKA proposed that five constitutional judges should be elected by the present parliament and five by the new parliament, with the remaining five appointed three years after the elections. It proposed that the president of the Constitutional Court should be elected by secret ballot by the constitutional judges rather than by parliament. The three sides accepted this proposal as a starting point and agreed to set up a special committee for drafting the final text. The committee is to meet Saturday.

There was a long discussion on the paragraphs under debate of the party law. The HSWP delegation proposed that the paragraphs related to the operation of parties at the places of employment, the limitation of the party membership of the members of armed forces and armed bodies, and the party wealth should be put forward to parliament in options. The EKA proposed that the HSWP should declare what part of its wealth it is prepared to renounce and when to hand it over to the government. On behalf of the HSWP, Imre Pozsgay promised that they would formulate the two declarations and put them at the disposal of the other two sides.

On the request of the HSWP, the EKA withdrew its proposals to change the name of the Hungarian People's Army to Hungarian Army.

The three sides agreed to hold medium-level talks on Monday from 17.00 hours and a plenary session in the parliament building from 19.00 hours.

Democratic Movement Holds Founding Assembly

Pozsgay Addresses Forum

LD1609113189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] It has been proven once and for all that a Stalinist social system, even in its present liberalized form, has become incapable of functioning. Its continued patching and mending would lead to a national catastrophe. Therefore, its complete elimination is a task of pressing necessity. I have been quoting from the Movement for Democratic Hungary's founding declaration. The political mass movement is holding its founding general assembly today. Henrik Havas reports from the scene:

[Havas] There is no greater danger for the transformation than people with downcast eyes. That is why the silent majority must be given the chance to participate in public life. The Movement for Democratic Hungary takes this task upon itself, stated Imre Pozsgay, who began his speech amid a huge ovation. As he said, the movement is not a new political contestant that is making its appearance on the political battlefield. The movement does not wish to compete with parties. It wants something else—to give credence to the intention that citizens may also participate in the renewal but who do not want to join parties. It is not a program that we offer but a possibility to act, said the minister of state.

What is needed in Hungary today is a peaceful democratic transformation. This is an unprecedented experiment in our country, and also in Eastern Europe. The stakes are the nation's existence. We count on all those who are ready to act for renewal. At the same time we distinguish ourselves from those who allege that there is no crisis in Hungary, who believe that something can still be done with this nation. And yet now it is the nation that must be followed; the nation which has once and for all settled its account with dictatorship, with all its manifestations. Now one must take steps, make decisions, warned Imre Pozsgay.

People's power, which realizes the people's intention, must be won. This necessitates free elections and then a free parliament. Imre Pozsgay quoted a thought of Dante's at the end of his speech: Struggling with a thousand dangers, we have arrived at a new frontier; we cannot turn back. The minister of state concluded his speech amid huge applause.

They also applauded the announcement that MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] chairman Rezso Nyers has cabled his greeting to the Movement for Democratic Hungary's founding session.

As for Premier Miklos Nemeth's greeting speech, they even read it aloud. I quote from it: In our country the political, social, and moral crisis in recent weeks unfortunately, instead of reaching a resting point which so many had awaited, has alarmingly deepened. It may be that in these days or weeks, it will be decided whether we can utilize our unequalled historical chance for the creation of a democratic constitutional state, or whether a series of conflicts will break out which would retard our development for an unforeseeable time, blocking for us the way leading to Europe and the world. In this situation I am delighted by the appearance of a political force which has pinned onto its banner a national joining of forces and unity, and which mobilizes for a peaceful transition.

[Presenter] The political mass movement, which is of a people's front nature, incidentally awaits the joining of every foreign citizen over 16, of Hungarian or other origin, who agrees with the founding declaration.

Forum Elects Officials

LD1609144189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Excerpt] The founding session of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary elected Imre Pozsgay provisional president. The members of the leadership are Mihaly Bihari, university lecturer; Zoltan Kiraly, parliamentary deputy; and Karoly Vigh, president of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society. The general secretary is Ferenc Gazso.

Speaking at the founding session, Imre Pozsgay said that the Movement for a Democratic Hungary is appearing in the political arena not as a rival in competition; it merely wishes to provide a possibility for people not belonging to parties to engage in politics. Mihaly Bihari said that the movement rejects the rule of Marxist ideology, Bolshevism and dictatorial socialism. [passage omitted]

Figures Interviewed

LD1609163489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 16 Sep 89

[From the "168 Hours" program, with unidentified presenter; journalist Henrik Havas interview with Imre Pozsgay and Ferenc Gazso at founding congress of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary in Budapest on 16 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] It has been proven once and for all that a Stalinist social system, even in its present liberalized form, has become incapable of functioning. [passage omitted]

I have been quoting from the draft founding declaration of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary. The fathers of the movement include Imre Pozsgay, Mihaly Bihari, Csaba Gombar, Ferenc Kosa, Endre (Bilec), Ferenc Gazso, and others. The draft also states that, among our many problems, perhaps what is most painful is the lack of national unity. Without this, we could squander once and for all the possibility of bloodless renewal. [passage omitted] Henrik Havas has enquired about what kind of program the movement, which is not functioning as a party, and which held its founding session at the Karl Marx University of Economics, promises:

[Begin recording] [Havas] With regard to the enthusiasm that characterized the founding session, perhaps my question is not appropriate, but isn't the creation of the movement a substitute action? Listening to those who have been excluded from the party, those who are helpless in the party, and speakers who have not accepted a party, I thought that after all it might be appropriate for me to ask this. Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] This question does not detract from my enthusiasm, because, although seeing it from a viewpoint this is how it could be put, I believe that those who are here are not people who are unable to achieve results in the party. I hope that the congress will show that there were other results, [word indistinct] over long years.

Regarding substitute action, allow me to say: without exception the people here in the hall are of a type who could fulfill and would receive another 1,000 assignments. Thus, it is not for themselves that they have sought this kind of authorization and assignment, but in truth the issue is of perhaps turning to and creating an institution of dialogue, for those who have not yet come to recognize this thought.

[Havas] If I am correct, the organizing committee headed by Ferenc Gazso sent out 1,200 invitations. On whom is this movement counting? I see everyone here, from the newly elected deputy of the Democratic Forum to the Central Committee Secretary responsible for agitation and propaganda affairs.

[Gazso] Yes, there are many people here who were invited, and there are some who came without invitations. We do not regard this as any kind of problem. The movement, itself, at present has some 1,200 members. We invited everyone who applied to join. Apart from this, we invited certain social, artistic, and scientific figures. Thus, a meeting has gathered here which, I believe, represents the composition of Hungarian society. I would like to indicate that a very great number of people from the countryside have joined our movement. Thus, it is not limited to the intelligentsia of Budapest, but local groups have been formed in the villages, small towns, and the representatives of these are taking part in these consultations.

[Havas] Imre Pozsgay delivered the opening speech. For this reason, I was slightly surprised by the statement from Ferenc Gazso, in connection with which I would also like

to question him, that it, is a movement which ideologically is not committed to any -ism. What does this mean? Is it possible to align citizens behind such a cause?

[Pozsgay] Yes, it is possible. It is precisely such a cause behind which it is most possible to align them. This does not presume that the participants are not committed to some kind of ideology; but, from this viewpoint this movement is able to rise above ideology. That is, it considers the national linking strands, threads to be stronger than the ideological differences. This hope keeps us alive. I believe that this hope of ours will stand the test.

[Gazso] I think that we have grown accustomed to the fact that a movement expresses an ideological or attitudinal commitment, and that it links its own activity to some kind of -ism. I think that we shall gracefully have to grow unaccustomed to this, and we can perhaps hope that there will come to be a society in which the people who adhere to the various ideological currents, values, find a common voice in social action of joint interest.

[Havas] Here in the hall, many people tried to grasp the issue from a practical aspect, and they said that perhaps the outlines of an election party are unfolding in the creation of the movement. Ferenc Gazso.

[Gazso] To be sure, there is such a possibility in every political movement. It depends on the situation when and how a political movement will enter the political arena. Thus, I am not precluding this, but naturally at this moment it is not with this direct objective that the movement is being organized.

[Pozsgay] The direct objective is what we have spoken openly about—to prevent a roll-back and to open up a path for citizen's activity, even for those who do not yet want to choose a party, but who want some kind of possibility to join forces.

[Havas] I have now heard the sharpest criticism in recent times in connection with Imre Pozsgay. One guest raised the issue by saying that in the entire socialist world system perhaps you are the only politician who could win the highest state honor in free elections. At the same time, recent times have shown that you, similarly to other politicians, are thinking in terms of the position of party general secretary, and the creation of this movement—and now I go back to my first question—perhaps signals the hinterland or substitute action.

[Pozsgay] It is good that you have put this question because if this view and conviction were to spread, a kind of falsification surrounding me would take place, which, of course, is not happening for the first time in my life. I have no such ambitions. I have no personal ambition for position. I said earlier and I say now: I have been given sufficient scope, possibility for action in this society, in this country, to date. I prefer to pay heed to the call of the people, rather than to subordinate myself to various party interests.

[Havas] What is your view? What is the reason for such artists and public figures having accepted the invitation and public performance, for their having delivered speeches here at the founding session—people who up to now have kept silent? There were some who said that up to now, they had lived as internal emigres. What could this be—final desperation—or has the possibility for action shone forth for some?

[Pozsgay] Perhaps a final possibility, but it also shows that here is where they see the possibility to be, and that is why they came here and were heard. From this viewpoint, what (Sandor Szokolay) said was very thought-provoking and went through to the heart.

[Gazso] I, also, am of the view that the true values of this movement and the fact that it is not a matter of substitute action could possibly be reflected by the fact that not only the people who were committed to politicising and political action appeared here, but also those who step to the podium for the interests of Hungarian society if they believe there is sense in this. Properly speaking we would like to procure a podium for the citizens' responsibility.

[Havas] You spoke a very important sentence: free elections and a free parliament are necessary. Is that your prediction, regarding domestic political events in the coming period?

[Pozsgay] All of our negotiations at talks, our time spent in these hot seats, have served this objective, and we hope successfully. [end recording]

Anniversary of Soviet 'Aggression' Approaches

LD1509175689 Warsaw PAP in English
1631 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Wrocław, Sept. 15: Observances of the tragic anniversary of the 50th anniversary of the aggression of Poland by the Soviet Union will be held on Septmeber 17 at the initiative of the Main Committee for remembrance of victims of Stalinism in Poland.

In an interview for PAP, chairman of the Main Committee Leszek Skonka said:

"After the invasion by German troops, followed soon afterwards by an aggression by the Soviet Union, the Polish nation was sentenced to annihilation, suffering the humiliation. At present, for the first time in 50 years, conditions have surfaced to duly commemorate also the anniversary of September 17, 1939.

"A great deal has changed in the world in the last 50 years. The fortunes of the present-day world are being decided by people who were children during the war or were born after it. These new generations of people cannot and do not want to shoulder responsibility for the faults of their fathers and grand-fathers. One could hold it against those who continued the Stalinist system but not against all of Soviet society which for years was brain-washed by primative Stalinist propaganda.

"From this point of view the 50th anniversary of the invasion by Soviet troops into Poland on September 17, 1939 is an occasion to seek new friendly, good-neighbourly, allied relations with the Soviet Union under principles of equal rights and respect of sovereignty.

"Of course today there are conducive conditions, opening a road to reconciliation between the Polish and Soviet nation. As early as June we addressed an appeal in this spirit to Polish society as well as to Soviet society to build new roads and bridges leading to genuine agreement, good-neighbourly relations and friendship.

"The observances of the 50th anniversary of the aggression of Soviet troops against Poland will be of a solemn nature, one void of feelings of hatred and revenge. We will lay flowers at the graves of people who fell victim to Stalinism. On September 17, in Wroclaw's main street, Swidnicka, we will unveil a commemorative plaque and embed a cornerstone at the site of a future monument to the victims of Stalinism.

"We Poles, a nation tragically wronged fifty years ago and during World War Two, do not forget the past. We are extending our hand to agreement, reconciliation, and friendship. We are doing this to prevent such tragic events for Poles and Russians from happening ever again..."

Ceremonies Mark Soviet Invasion Anniversary

LD1709202189 Warsaw PAP in English
1925 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 17—On the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Army's invasion of Poland on September 17, 1939, ceremonies were held throughout Poland today.

Patriotic manifestations were held at battlefields and at monuments commemorating Polish soldiers. In churches masses for the motherland and its defenders were celebrated. At military cemeteries, at places of executions, at graves of the killed and murdered, at symbolic graves of unknown soldiers, at monuments tribute was paid to heroic defenders of Poland, to victims of terror, to officers and soldiers of the Polish Army and to civilians.

Manifestations in Gdansk

The square in front of St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk was the starting point of two manifestations today.

The first one was organized by the Independent Student's Union and the Independent Union of School Youth. At a short rally it was recalled that the tragic day of September 17 gives Poles no grounds to feel hatred towards the Soviet nation. No Russians are to blame, the young speakers stressed, but the totalitarian, aggressive, Stalinist system.

Next, the youth proceeded through the streets of Gdansk to King Jan Sobieski III monument where they met with a manifestation organized by activists of "Fighting Solidarity" and attended by Andrzej Gwiazda.

The latter group shouting aggressive slogans against everything and everybody, from communists and the USSR to the government and Lech Walesa, and calling "neocommune" the forces alligned with the "Solidarnosc" met with firm disapproval and opposition of the spectators who hooted Gwiazda's speech.

Having commemorated in silence the victims of war, the youth manifestation dispersed without disturbing the peace in the city.

"Katyn Families" Congress

Several hundred people from all over Poland arrived at a congress of "Katyn families" organized on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Poland.

A mass for the souls of the motherland's defenders killed, murdered and missing in the east celebrated in St. Boromeusz's Church here was the main point of the congress organized by the committee for memory of Katyn families set up at the parish in 1979.

The first circles grouping relatives and friends of those who gave their lives for Poland in the territory of the Soviet Union were formed in Warsaw and Krakow under the symbolic name of "Katyn families".

During the mass the committee's appeal calling on all in Poland and abroad to form similar family circles was read. The appeal also said about plans to organize a meeting in Warsaw next year and to inaugurate Polish pilgrimages to the Katyn cross and to other places in the east where Poles are buried. Following the mass a ceremony wa held of consecrating of 84 new plaques commemorating the Polish Army officers and soldiers perished in the East.

Veterans' Ceremony in London

A group of Polish veterans marched through Whitehall in London today to mark the 50th anniversary of September 17.

Following a mass for the perished, the Polish authorities in exile, Marshal Edvin Brammel and chairman of the Katyn association Frederic Bennett laid wreaths at the cenotaph war victims memorial.

Demonstrations in Warsaw, Krakow

At the tomb of unknown soldier in Warsaw wreaths were laid today from the Association of former Home Army soldiers, from the "Solidarnosc" of Mazowsze region and from the confederation of Independent Poland KPN.

Wreaths were also laid at the cross commemorating Polish officers murdered in Katyn situated in the Powazki Cemetary.

Also today a several-dozen-strong group defining themselves as members of the "Free Poland" Organization, carrying banners and shouting anti-Soviet slogans marched from the old city to the tomb of unknown soldier, and then proceeded towards the USSR Embassy. Some 30 people reached there, staged a 15-minute picket in front of the building and next dispersed.

In Krakow, following a mass in St. Mary's Church a group formed on the initiative of the confederation of Independent Poland marched to the USSR Consulate. Shouting slogans "Soviets go home" and others, the participants in the demonstration threw coins at the consulate's entrance.

The militia did not intervene.

AFP Report on Polish Rallies

AU1709151989 Paris AFP in English
1412 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Lvov, Soviet Ukraine, Sept 17 (AFP)—More than 100,000 Ukrainians staged an unprecedented demonstration for recognition of their banned Catholic Church on Sunday, as Poles officially marked for the first time the 50th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of western Ukraine, then part of Poland. [passage omitted]

Fifty years to the day after Soviet troops marched into Poland following the signature of a 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact, thousands of Poles also demonstrated in Warsaw and hundreds more took part in ceremonies in Gdansk, AFP correspondents reported.

The ceremonies were the first of their kind to be authorized in Poland, and followed the installation of the country's first non-communist government in 40 years.

In Warsaw, Poles gathered before the tomb of the unknown soldier, in the presence of dissident groups who only recently were banned: the National Army Association (AK), the anti-Nazi resistance loyal to the Polish government in exile in London, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and the Solidarity Committee for the Warsaw region.

Speakers at the Warsaw ceremony denounced the "crimes of Stalin" and called for "freedom" and "independence" for Poland.

In the port city of Gdansk, 700 Poles gathered at the foot of a monument to Jan Sobieski, the king of Poland who in the seventh century signed a pact of "peace for eternity" with Russia. Later, about 300 people marched to the regional communist party headquarters and demanded the departure of Soviet troops still stationed in Poland. [passage omitted]

Opole Protest Demands Departure of Russians

LD1509145989 Opole Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Report by correspondent Piotr Wroblewski]

[Text] The leaflets that have been posted for several days, emblazoned with the slogan: Soviets go home—Demonstration on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet attack on Poland—Opole, Krakowska Street, 15 September at 1600, signed by Fighting Solidarity [SW], have gathered several hundred young and very young people. These are mostly boys, pupils of middle schools, and students of the Opole Higher Schools, but not only them. I have also spoken with newcomers from Wroclaw, where similar demonstrations are to take place over the next few days. On the placards and banners are slogans calling for the return home of Soviet forces, within the borders of the Soviet Union. And also the recollection of painful anniversaries—Berlin 1953, Hungary 1956. The demonstration is taking place very calmly. There are, as I said, many young and very young people. There is also a cluster of older people, but these have come mainly to watch, quite simply out of curiosity. For those of you who don't know Opole, I will add that the demonstration is taking place on the sidewalk, and so there is no threat to the flow of road traffic and the movement of vehicles. So far, I have not seen any militia, at least in uniform.

Historian Calls Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact Invalid

LD1609001389 Warsaw PAP in English
2224 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—The date of September 17, 1939 is one of tragic dates in Poland's history. Till

recently, events linked with this date were mostly either not mentioned or presented in a false way.

PAP turned to Professor Eugeniusz Duraczynski of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences asking him how Polish historians see this problem today. The professor said in part:

As is well-known the Soviet Union announced its neutrality immediately after the German invasion of Poland. However, this was only a formal neutrality, for it was contradicted by facts of military cooperation aimed against Poland even before the Red Army striked against this country, for example services of the Soviet radio station in Minsk for German Air Force.

This cooperation was a result of a conspiracy between Hitler and Stalin documented by the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty together with a special protocol on the delimitation of the zones of influence in central Europe between both states, signed on the night of August 23. The conspiracy was directed at other neutral states, among them against the sovereignty and independence of People's Poland.

The Red Army moved on West in their, as it was termed then in the Soviet Union, "liberation expedition". It lasted for a dozen or so days. Casualties during numerous clashes were not high. According to estimates reached between 2 and 3 thousand [were] killed and wounded on each of the sides. Over 180 thousand soldiers and about 9 thousand officers were captured. However, already at that time the first murders were already committed on Polish prisoners of war.

On the night of September 28, Molotov and Ribbentrop signed another pact: treaty on friendship and borders. The pact was a logical consequence of the August 23 conspiracy between Stalin and Hitler, of the German Agression against Poland on September 1 and the Soviet on September 17.

In light of the then and present principles and provisions of the international law the pact as well as August 23 secret protocol were invalid from the start and as such are approached by present time Polish historians and, what is most important, by the newly elected supreme representative bodies of the Polish People's Republic.

More on 1939 USSR-German Pact

LD1609183489 Warsaw PAP in English 1743 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 16—The Soviet Army crossed Polish border on September 17, 1939. In this way Stalin was materialising the previously signed pact with the Third Reich known as Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. The nature of this treaty is best expressed by terms used by the Polish people, such as, "a stab in the back," and "the fourth partition of Poland."

Three dates were crucial for the Polish fates in 1939, Historian Professor Krystyna Kersten of PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences) History Institute told PAP. These dates are: August 23, September 1, and September 17, to which we could also add September 28 when a friendship and border pact was signed to finally settle the Polish question, as its sides believed.

Nobody in Poland and the Soviet Union is today seriously thinking of the biased interpretations and false explanations used to justify Stalin's move with, as they said, supreme necessity. No political or military reasons can justify that lawless treaty and aggression launched on Poland by the Soviet Union.

Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Beck was blamed for years. Today, in the light of full knowledge of the facts one can conclude that the pre-war Polish foreign policy was by all means right, all had been done that could be done.

Hitler did not succeed in swallowing Poland as he had done with Austria and Czechoslovakia. The resistance of Poland caused the outbreak of World War 2 which resulted in the fall of the Third Reich.

New GDR Movement Member on Opposition

AU1509161189 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Sep 89 p 6

[Interview with Wolfgang Templin, GDR oppositionist and member of the Initiative for Peace and Human Rights movement in the GDR, by Wojciech Kaminski: "I Learned 'Solidarity' in Poland"—Warsaw, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] You live in the FRG, you have a GDR passport, you travel to the GDR to visit your family and your opposition colleagues. Is this not a rather comfortable situation?

[Templin] I have never been allowed back into the GDR since my departure. I can travel in an interzone train from the FRG to West Berlin, but I am unable to use any transit roads. [passage omitted]

[Question] You are still a member of 'Initiative' and you contribute regularly to GRENZFALL. You are still in regular telephone contact with oppositionists in the GDR. Tell us something about the organization of the GDR opposition.

[Templin] The environmentalist movement is the best organized. Its network covers the whole of the GDR. Many pacifist, democratic, and anticulture oppositionist groups benefit from the protection of the Protestant Church. The ecologist and church organizations form the basic network for the distribution of opposition literature. There are 30 publications that appear regularly.

The numerous political clubs in support of perestroyka, peace, and democratization are a new and very important phenomenon. These are truly independent and only cooperate with the church in a very loose way. They call for the same things that our 'Initiative' movement has

called for, namely, freedom of speech and assembly, changes in the electoral system, the right to organize oneself, the abolition of the media monopoly, and freedom of travel.

This is an important change. The GDR independent movement first began its activity with the following slogans: "We want peace, clean air, good relations with the authorities, and we want to remain apolitical." The subsequent repressions only hastened the peoples' politicization. Nowadays, the prevalent attitude is that it is no longer sufficient to call for the self-evident things, we now have to form structures that will successfully resist the attacks of the Communist Party. [passage omitted]

[Question] You have mentioned the question of the GDR's identity. But surely the identity of the whole German nation, a people who were divided by Yalta, is even more strongly proclaimed. Your demand for freedom of travel is in practice nothing more than a call for the unification of Germany.

[Templin] Let us be realistic. There are no political forces at present in the East or the West that would tolerate the unification of Germany. We are demanding the right of GDR society to have its sovereign say on the matter. At the moment, only the Communist Party apparatus speaks on this society's behalf. The way this society reacts when we have the possibility of articulating various political options, and when a public political forum is created, will be the truly deciding factor. Only then will we learn whether the citizens of the GDR want full integration with the West German state, or whether, despite the completely open border, they will be more inclined to remain an independent neighbor of the FRG.

[Question] Are you hopeful that there will soon be personnel changes within the party and a victory for the reforming wing?

[Templin] In contrast to the other parties of the bloc, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is stable and monolithic. It is pervaded by Prussian discipline. There are reform-minded people there, but they have no possibility whatsoever of articulating their views. Additionally, there is an attitude of "Waiting for Godot" among these people. The GDR's chance lies in its society. The people have to win democracy for themselves, no one is going to offer it to them on a plate.

[Question] Have the changes in Poland had any impact on your country? Does the example of "Solidarity" have any meaning for you?

[Templin] I dream of the creation of a "Polish-GDR 'Solidarity'". I will not conceal that this is one of the reasons for my visit to Warsaw. I hope that this visit contributes to the spreading of some information among Poles about the independent movements in the GDR. I hope that it also contributes to the destruction of the false view that the GDR opposition is at an embryonic stage, and that it is impossible to talk to anyone, because everyone in the GDR is petrified with fear. It is a matter of the utmost importance that the opposition movement in the GDR be taken seriously. Separately, Poland and Hungary do not stand a chance of joining Europe. Only a coalition of all the democratic forces in the bloc will create that chance.

[Question] Here we are holding this interview in Polish, and in the editorial offices of the GAZETA WYBORCZA. Where did you learn to speak Polish?

[Templin] I consider Poland as my second country. I studied, at the Philosophy Faculty of Warsaw University in 1976-77. At this time the Workers Defense Committee was formed. In Poland I learned that society's involvement cannot stop at intellectual circles, and that it needs more open and political forms. I know that "Solidarity" is not just a symbol. It is also a sign of the peoples' motivation. It is sign of people who have organized themselves in order to do something for their country.

Mazowiecki Receives USIA Director 15 Sep

LD1509201789 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received director of the United States Information Agency Bruce S. Gelb here today. Undersecretary of State in the Polish Foreign Ministry Jan Majewski took part in the talk which focused on bilateral cooperation, also in culture and science. Present was U.S. Ambassador to Poland John Davis.

After the meeting, Gelb answered questions from journalists who asked about his opinion on Polish-U.S. cooperation in culture, information, and science. He said that last year was an introduction to the best relations the United States can possibly have with any country.

He said that now, as changes are taking place in Poland, it seems to him that things which used to make negotiations difficult and more complicated, will be removed, that a renaissance of relations with Poland will take place.

Asked about plans to open an American culture centre in Warsaw Gelb replied that this will be done as soon as possible.

FRG Envoy Talks With State Minister Czyrek

LD1509163189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Minister of State Jozef Czyrek has received Horst Teltschik, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's plenipotentiary for the development of relations between Poland and the FRG. The talks were attended by Mieczyslaw Pszon, plenipotentiary of Premier Mazowiecki. The subject of the meeting was the matter of Polish-West German cooperation and the possibilities of its further expansion.

Meets Mazowiecki

LD1509203389 Warsaw PAP in English
1847 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today West German Chancellor Kohl's plenipotentiary Horst Teltschik.

After a one-hour talk, Teltschik told PAP that Chancellor Kohl wanted to pay a visit to Poland still this year.

Sees 'Progress' in Negotiations

LD1609002489 Warsaw PAP in English
2221 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today FRG Chancellor's Plenipotentiary Horst Teltschik, now in Poland for the 8th round of Poland-FRG negotiations.

The talks held these days have brought progress and we can be really positive that they can be concluded soon, Horst Teltschik told PAP. The present round will not, however, be the last one which is no surprise as it is the first meeting with the new plenipotentiary of the Polish side which served also to learn about the interests of the new Polish Government. Now I have to submit it to the Federal Government for examination and explanation. When this is done, we will be able to conclude our talks. Thus another round of our negotiations will be needed and probably it will be the last one, Teltschik stated.

Asked about Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland, Teltschik said that the Chancellor wants to pay it still this year. Its concrete date, however, depends on the conclusion of talks. In the opinion of the FRG Chancellor's plenipotentiary the visit might materialize in November or in the beginning of December at the latest.

It was an important round, stated plenipotentiary of the Polish Government Mieczyslaw Pszon, and I still expect it to have a breakthrough character. He added that he still hoped for a breakthrough in Polish-West German relations.

Olechowski Speaks on Upcoming Trade Talks

LD1709222389 Warsaw PAP in English
2026 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 17—Roland Dumas, French foreign minister who now heads the Council of Ministers of the EEC, and Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the EEC commission for external relations, trade policy and cooperation with European countries, will soon pay a visit to this country.

Their visit is connected with the signing of an agreement between Poland the EEC on commerce, trade and economic cooperation, to take place here on October 19.

The above-mentioned agreement is an economic equivalent of sorts to establishing political relations with the EEC, the main negotiator of the Polish side in talks with the EEC, head of the department for foreign economic relations, Andrzej Olechowski, told PAP.

First, the agreement defines principles which are to govern trade between Poland and the community. Second, it is a manifestation of will to develop other forms of cooperation, said he.

As far as trade between Poland and the EEC is concerned, Poland has met so far with numerous import restrictions which have a discriminatory nature and have been applied only in relation to Poland or a few countries. Thus we are considered by the community as a partner of the "C" category. Under the agreement our position will be elevated and Poland will reach the "B" category status, but unfortunately not the "A" one yet, went on Olechowski.

There are more than 1,000 goods on which there have been imposed quota restrictions. We were assured that till 1994 the EEC would lift all barriers. So the EEC buyers can buy such an amount of goods which they consider necessary without any government interference. This does not mean that as of 1994 Polish goods will be sold to the EEC without any restrictions. Poland's exports will be limited in the samy way as exports from the U.S., Canada, Japan and other countries. On the other hand, EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries, as for instance, Switzerland, Austria and Mediterranean countries, have better trade conditions with the EEC than Poland.

We want to animate contacts with the EFTA. If it was possible we would strive for membership in this association. But it is not probable. We want, however, to establish a closer and mutually profitable cooperation with the EFTA countries, like with the EEC, as those countries are very important partners for Poland, said Olechowski.

Mazowiecki Makes Government Appointments

LD1509181789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has carried out the following changes in the composition of the supreme bodies of the state administration.

At the resolution of the minister of justice, he has appointed Prof Adam Strzembosz to the post of undersecretary of state and first deputy minister.

At the resolution of the minister of finance, he has recalled Wincenty Lewandowski from the post of secretary of state in that ministry and has appointed Dr Mark Dabrowski to that post.

At the resolution of the minister-head of the office of the Council of Ministers, he has recalled Aleksander Borowicz from the post of undersecretary of state and has also freed Zbigniew Borawski from the post of

secretary to the Council of Ministers Economic Committee and Kazimierz Malecki from the post of secretary to the Council of Ministers, while leaving them in the posts of undersecretaries of state, though with different areas of responsibility.

The premier has appointed the following to the posts of undersecretaries of state in the office of the Council of Ministers: Dr Alfred (Wiecia), simultaneously giving him the post of secretary of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers; Dr Jerzy Ciemniewski, simultaneously giving him the post of secretary to the Council of Ministers.

Malgorzata Niezabitowska was appointed to the post of government press spokesman and Henryk Wozniakowski to the post of deputy press spokesman.

New Ministers Make Policy Statements

AU1509163789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 89 pp 4,5

[Unattributed report: "We Present the Members of the New Government"]

[Text] We present short statements, freshly collected by our journalists from the members of the new government. These statements are, so to speak, their credos, containing what they consider to be the most important and most urgent tasks that their ministries have to undertake.

Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance: We have a historic chance to make changes not only in the political sphere, but in the economic sphere as well—a chance to transfer from the present economic system to a system that is marked by much greater efficiency. I am convinced that a modern market economy is such a system. However, we are commencing this transfer in a dramatically difficult economic and social situation. The greatest problem is the growing inflation. Unless we overcome inflation, we will not solve other problems. Unfortunately, we do not have the luxury of an easy choice and a painless way out. We must enter the battle against inflation either immediately or very soon. That is the only possibility I see.

Czeslaw Janicki, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industries: I will aim for a full application of the market in the food industry, at the same time abolishing the monopoly on the procurement and sale of agricultural produce. It is necessary, among other things, to cut subsidies to agricultural cooperatives as soon as possible. I wish to make it clear that applying the market cannot mean excessive prices.

One of the most urgent tasks today is to increase supplies of essential production resources, machinery, fertilizers, and other essential equipment to rural areas. The huge shortages in these sphere mean that in rural areas money is not backed by commodities. This situation has to be changed.

Jan Janowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and head of the Office of Scientific and Technical Progress and Implementation: Personally, I consider my office to be a body that is involved with forecasting, establishing, and improving conditions for the scientific sphere. I consider it essential to involve in the planning process the entire Polish intelligentsia, especially leading scientific centers and the most prominent people in individual disciplines. I consider it an urgent task to introduce as quickly as possible a flexible way of financing science, with a simultaneous selection of tasks. A bank of scientific and technological progress should emerge quickly. I think administrative strictures should undergo a fundamental change. I consider them to be excessively staffed. Polish scientific legislation also needs to be tidied up. We need the kind of legislation that treats science and scientific progress as a single whole, for science is indivisible. In connection with the country's crisis situation, in the immediate future I as a minister will not put forth any radical demands for more funds for science, because that is not feasible.

Czeslaw Kiszczak, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of internal affairs: Despite my pledge, once again it is my lot to lead the Interior Ministry. That is a responsible task. I see the need for systematic changes which, of course, must take place in stages. The ministry must concentrate on defending the state's stability and efficiency. It must protect its internal security and the rights and interests of its citizens. Therefore, the main statutory goals and tasks of the ministry will remain unchanged. However, organization and work methods have to change and adapt to the sociopolitical reality. This applies especially to the Security Service, which we have reorganized and changed. I think the organization and principles of conduct of units that act in closed ranks, in other words the Motorized Units of the Civic Militia, must be different. I do not mean the names should be changed. I mean that the number of people in them should be reduced, and that the decision to send in these units should be made higher up the political ladder. My objective is to have an Interior Ministry that is governed by law; modern from the point of view of cadres, work methods, and training; and efficient in the discharge of its duties while serving society and the state.

Jacek Ambroziak, minister-head of the Office of the Council of Ministers: I do not foresee any radical and rapid changes to the structure of the Office of the Council of Ministers, nor a mass change of cadres, neither here in Warsaw nor in the field.

It seems to me that the local government's way of thinking and acting must undergo a certain change. Local government bodies should concentrate less on themselves and more on service to society and the state. I think I will succeed in bringing about such a change

quite easily, because among local government officials there is an entire gathering of distinguished experts and professionals whose services are not appreciated and who are poorly paid, as a result of which they are interested in a change of situation.

I do not want to assess my colleagues according to political criteria, but only according to their professionalism and loyalty to the state.

Artur Balazs, minister-member of the Council of Ministers: I am supposed to deal with poverty in rural areas. Therefore my task is to change this situation. The rural population should have an easier life. It has the right to the same living conditions as the urban population.

Aleksander Bentkowski, minister of justice: My credo is to implement the provisions of the "roundtable" because they are correct, necessary, and important.

In the first place, it is necessary to make the tenure of Supreme Court judges permanent, thus giving the Supreme Court new status. This will involve a very major change to the law, as well as essential personnel changes.

Also urgent is an improvement to the state of the entire judiciary, in other words giving it the right to elect presidents of both voivodship and regional courts.

It is essential to improve the material situation of administrative personnel. Right now, this situation is, quite simply, very bad. And yet the work of the courts depends on the work of the administration.

Izabella Cywinska, minister of culture and art: Your question asking me to give a brief credo is a difficult one, and I do not know if I am ready to answer it. There is so much to do... First, I will do all I can to give some money in 2 or 3 weeks time to those who really have nothing to eat and have survived in the world of culture until now. I realize that is very little and it is not something I would like to do, but that is the situation right now. On the other hand, I still think it is necessary to abolish all these bad and absurd things—especially the rules that make our lives difficult—so that we can make progress at last.

Aleksander Hall, minister-member of the Council of Ministers, who stems from the non-parliamentary opposition, did not want to speak about the contents and scope of his work in the Mazowiecki government because the Sejm has not yet passed the Political Parties Act—one of A. Hall's duties will be to oversee contacts between them—and because the invitation for him to join the government was rather unexpected. Therefore, he has to grow accustomed to his station, as it were, and establish with the premier and his colleagues the scope and subject matter of his responsibility. We will receive information about this later.

Bronislaw Kaminski, minister of environmental protection and natural resources: First, we must gain social credibility in the sphere of environmental protection. Second, we must urgently eliminate the extreme dangers to the environment, giving economic considerations second place. Third, we must not commit further errors in spatial planning. We must harmonize economic and ecological goals.

We should adopt a work style and method of action that is open to society, so that society make take wider part in solving ecological problems. We are also counting on an expansion of Poland's international cooperation, in which there are great opportunities for solving these problems.

My philosophy is geared to protecting man, but it is not man who is the weakest component of the ecological system, but the pine forest. Therefore, in order to protect man, we have to increase the protection of forests.

Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz, minister of health and social welfare: Regardless of the urgent need for reforms to the health service, involving both greater supplies of resources and an improvement to the availability and quality of the assistence offered, I see the need for urgent preventive measures everywhere—in the ecological sphere, at work, at places of recreation and, of course, in the sphere of health education.

I think it is necessary to reactivate every social organization, foundation, and so on. It is also necessary to solve the problems facing the increasing number of people who are on or below the poverty line. It is necessary to unite the forces of secular and church organizations and charities in order to help these people. Generally, my work will be geared to the principle "prevention is better than cure."

Marek Kucharski, minister-member of the Council of Ministers: Good communications are essential if the country's economy is to function well and if there are to be close contacts with economic partners. In this respect, we are in a primitive state.

I see no possibility of expanding communications without foreign equipment. It is essential to purchase the latest foreign licenses. Where should the money come from? Communications are a source of profitable business everywhere. Our communications also bring in money, but the foreign currency thus earned is shared with the state. I think these funds could be one of the main ways of financing investments. I am not afraid of foreign capital. It would be excellent if we could find people willing to invest in Poland.

Jacek Kuron, minister of labor and social policy: The state should consistently defend those who cannot defend themselves.

Aleksander Mackiewicz, minister of domestic trade: It is not true that trade has no effect on the market situation and that it can only sell what industry supplies to it. It may and should also encourage producers to undertake more energetic economic activity. It should encourage not just the great producers, but most of all the small ones, to fill shop shelves. I will try to make them do so.

We must also reopen hundreds of closed shops by providing them with new supervisory organizations and by breaking the current monopolies. Stores mean goods. People with initiative should be given a chance. The chance to run a store should be given to those who are capable of it.

Jerzy Osiatynski, minister-head of the Central Planning Office: The easiest way of explaining what the Central Planning Office will do is to reject everything it has done over the past 40 years. I imagine this will be an office that will share nothing and give nothing. In the economic model toward which we are aspiring, the Central Planning Office should be an advisory body to the government, presenting clear, understandable options, and the consequences thereof. The point is to be aware not just of the goals we wish to attain, but also the ways in which we wish to attain them.

Aleksander Paszynski, minister of town and country planning and construction: My philosophy of action as minister is not to place obstacles in the path of anyone who wants his own apartment. The ideal situation is to provide help. Therefore, I will concentrate on removing all the obstacles and barriers on this path, whereby I will attempt to reconcile economic and social interests.

Henryk Samsonowicz, minister of national education: Most of all, it is necessary to reform the system of management over education. There are too many bodies between the schools and the education council. Schools must be given greater autonomy. Therefore it is necessary to increase the status of school principals, who should be appointed by means of competition. The independence of schools must be combined with a greater variety of them. There cannot be just one system of schooling. Teaching curricula should be subject to far-reaching reforms. They should encourage an intellectual approach and intellectual thinking by young people. I see no possibility of undertaking this reform without an improvement in the material infrastructure of schools, which is very bad. I will concentrate on the development of experimental schools. As far as higher education is concerned, the principle of noninterference should apply. Therefore, I will try to give institutions of higher education some of the powers of the ministry.

Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense: We will continue the restructuring of the Armed Forces, so that we have an army that is smaller but more modern and efficient. We will be sparing with the use of military resources. We will be guided by the principle of minimum defense sufficiency and will ensure the country's security within the framework of the Warsaw Pact allied defense system.

We realize that a modern army and new conditions governing its activity mean having soldiers who think and act in a modern way. We will continue to make military service more humane, easing the burden of daily soldierly duty. Despite the more modest budget resources at our disposal, proper social, cultural, and living conditions for our cadres and their families and for soldiers undergoing basic military service will continue to be our prime concern.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski, minister of foreign affairs: Polish foreign policy will be geared to the state's political independence in external and internal affairs; ensuring the external calm that is essential in order to implement the reforms; and generally supporting the reforms by means of foreign policy and by eliminating mistrust here and there.

What is happening in Poland is a normal process that does not clash with our international commitments. Relations with the Warsaw Pact countries are based and will be based on a respect for these commitments. The task of Polish foreign policy will be to reform CEMA. We must also open ourselves widely to the West, the next expression of which will be an agreement with the EEC.

Tadeusz Syryjczyk, minister of industry: I agreed to run for this post in hopes that the new government's policy would be geared toward the creation of a free market, an abolition of restrictions, and changes in ownership. I do not want to give preference to any branch of industry or economic sector. However, I will support the emergence of those enterprises that do not exist yet, but should do so. Those who want to set up these enterprises must be given a chance to assert themselves. The present exodus of young people to the West involves a search for a better existence. We must do everything we can to make them use their talents. Instead of them searching for capital all over the world, we should provide them with capital here. We have no other choice.

Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation: I will pursue four strategic goals. First, we must make the zloty convertible as quickly as possible, which is the condition necessary in order to apply uniform rules of accounting throughout the economy and abolishing the rationing of foreign currency. Second, we must make our relations with the CEMA countries based more on economic principles, and reduce the importance of international agreements and trade protocols. Third, it is essential to guarantee an influx of foreign capital, because our economy cannot keep up with the rest of the world. Fourth, we must normalize our financial and credit relations with foreign countries, which will be possible if we work out a regulatory program for our economy and if the IMF accepts it.

Witold Trzedciakowski, minister-member of the Council of Ministers: We all agree that we should aim toward a market economy, but no one in the world has achieved it yet. We are faced with a lack of external and internal equilibrium. Market laws are not working. So what is necessary? An abolition of monopolies, the commercialization of state ownership, a new taxation and banking system, an end to the monopolies over foreign trade, and proper protection for those unable to work. Only after we have prepared these ingredients of a program can we

apply two other principles: a battle against inflation—and our prayers that we will win it.

Franciszek Adam Wieladek, minister of transport, shipping, and communications: The most important matter today is to survive the next winter. Tomorrow we should prepare a program of adapting the functioning of transportation to an economy that is approaching equilibrium. The day after tomorrow, we should form the basis of a modern 21st century system of transportation that is joined to Europe and based on European standards.

Defense Minister Siwicki on Reappointment

AU1509171989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic, by Captain Janusz Grochowski: "We Have Always Served the State"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Grochowski] I offer you my sincere congratulations! You must be particularly pleased, because although you were seeking your reappointment to the post of defense minister, and were therefore in a worse position than those who were doing so for the first time, and you were questioned the longest by the Sejm commission (for more than 7 hours), your candidacy was one of the few that won unanimous support....

[Siwicki] Thank you. I am really very pleased that I have been entrusted with the post of defense minister in T. Mazowiecki's broad coalition government, a government of hope and opportunity. At the same time, I realize that an enormous responsibility rests with the Ministry of National Defense for ensuring that the Armed Forces can operate efficiently under the present difficult economic conditions.

[Grochowski] Actually, the country's economy is in a disastrous state....

[Siwicki] The formation of new economic and political structures gives rise to certain difficulties. The military cannot simply view these processes from the sidelines. It must provide effective support for the changes that are taking place in our country, and it must reform itself. Of course, there will have to be certain curbs and sacrifices.... However, as minister of national defense, I will try to do all I can under these conditions to maintain an appropriate standard of living for personnel, the families of personnel, and conscripts. We will also have to do everything possible to ensure that the Armed Forces can function effectively, so that they continue to guarantee Poland's security and sovereignty.

[Grochowski] However, some people believe that the defense budget has to be reduced.

[Siwicki] I have always believed that the burden that defense expenditure imposes on the state budget should be lightened in a sensible way. However, this cannot involve a reduction in our defense capability. In addition, certain areas must be protected: living conditions, health care, and culture in the Armed Forces. Something else that is essential is the selective introduction and use of the most modern and, at the same time, markedly more effective military technology, or the continuation of scientific research and design projects in this area. Besides, this is in keeping with the principle of maintaining the essential level of military sufficiency.

[Grochowski] So, the danger that only the words will remain of the slogan "strong, united, ready"—there was a danger of this at one time—no longer exists?

[Siwicki] No, it does not; and there are at least two reasons for this. In terms of technology and the caliber of our forces, we have a military that is capable of defending our borders. In addition, it is part of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Member States and constitutes one line of the defense of our allied community.

[Grochowski] How do you see the implementation of the principles of pluralism in the Armed Forces?

[Siwicki] This issue was raised several times during my Sejm commission hearing. Our Armed Forces have always served the state and the people, and extensive party membership among personnel was no obstacle to serving the community as a whole. Of course, changed political circumstances make it necessary to work out solutions that would make it possible to fully implement the principles of political pluralism, and this applies to the military as well. Proposals of this kind will shortly be submitted.

[Grochowski] You said that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is a government of hope and opportunity. What hopes do you personally attach to this government?

[Siwicki] I hope that the frequent and sometimes unwarranted attacks on the Armed Forces will end, because what was the opposition until recently has now become the governing force. In addition, I believe that the Council of Ministers will be understanding in its view of our justified defense needs and of the many difficult everyday problems with which the military has been struggling for years.

[Grochowski] Thank you.

PZPR Politburo Discusses Forthcoming Plenum

LD1609160889 Warsaw PAP in English 1532 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 16—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau met here today to discuss topics for the 15th plenum to be held on Monday September 18. The plenum is to adopt decisions on the start of practical preparations for the 11th Congress.

A meeting between members of the Political Bureau and MPs [members of parliament] from the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group was held also today.

The participants discussed cooperation between the PUWP leadership and the floor group in defining lines of transformations in Poland and the PUWP remodelling. Also discussed was the scope of the club's participation in preparations for the 11th Congress.

PZPR Central Committee Session Opens

LD1809102889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] The PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee is meeting in Warsaw. Decisions are to be taken at the plenum regarding the practical start of preparations for the 11th PZPR congress.

PZPR's Wiatr Reports on Opening of CC Plenum

LD1809111489 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Sep (PAP)—Today, the 15th plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee begins the process of preparations for the 11th PZPR congress. This was noted by Slawomir Wiatr, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at a press conference today. He also reported that during the first part of the plenum a draft stand on the PZPR's relations with Premier Mazowiecki's government will be presented, as will a programmatic position. Draft changes in the statutes of the PZPR which will allow it to change the formula of the congress will also be presented.

Answering a question on whether the PZPR is preparing to have two congresses, Wiatr noted that despite emotions and contradictory proposals there will be no schism in the PZPR. The PZPR Central Committee secretary noted that the congress will have an integrative nature. Answering the next question, he stressed that although there is no quantitive growth in the ranks of the PZPR there is no sign that PZPR members are handing in their party membership cards in great numbers.

Answering a question on Wojciech Jaruzelski's role in the administration of the PZPR, S. Wiatr said that the general is not a member of the Central Committee and does not participate in the administration of the party.

Janowicz on Party Reform, New Party

LD1509215889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Interview with Leszek Janowicz, chairman of the 8 July Movement, by unidentified correspondent at the Warsaw Steelworks: date not given—recorded; [no video available]

[Text] [Correspondent] In the Warsaw Steelworks the Warsaw Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Milieu holds its third meeting. Workers, students, and academicians have met here: simply people who want creative ferment in the party. Can we say that this movement is, as a matter of fact, the beginning of the end for the PZPR, the party in the shape of this party?

[Janowicz] Yes, the party simply gets rid of its discussion, its schematic forms, and ballasts. [sentence as heard]

[Correspondent] Well, what is the new party to be? Are there to be two parties, is the party to be reformed, or will it be a new party?

[Janowicz] A new party, but one which does not emerge from nothing, which will not be made of thin air. People will constitute a link between the old and the new party, with the whole wealth of their intellect and experiences. The party will be based on traditions, on the many valuable assets of Polish socialist thought, and the international workers' movement. One cannot then speak of a party that will automatically severe its ties with its predecessor. A justified assessment of the PZPR, of which we are still members, must be made. I believe the 11th congress will do just that. But to ensure the existence of the party of the left for a longer time in Poland and to attract the young people, we must do as you said: essentially create a new party.

Geremek Addresses 12 Sep Sejm Session

AU1509162589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 89 p 6

[Unattributed report on speech by Prof Boleslaw Geremek, leader of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, at the 12 September session of the Sejm in Warsaw: "Boleslaw Geremek, Citizens' Parliamentary Club"]

[Text] "It is time to think about the future, about what is possible, and about what new prospects are opened up for Poland by the formation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. The premier's speech contains a brutally accurate assessment of the situation in which our country finds itself and the announcement of a program of reforms.

"The new government is beginning its work in a situation in which a minimum of hope is essential for the future of the people and of the country. There is that necessary minimum of confidence in the process of democratizing our country, in the restoration of the rights of the individual and the nation, but what is still lacking is that minimum of confidence that economic reforms will succeed, that people will once again be able to lead a dignified life in material terms. What we expect of the government is that it will manage to create that minimum of economic confidence in the first few weeks of its existence.

"The Citizens' Parliamentary Club fully identifies itself with the basic directions of development contained in the program submitted by Premier Mazowiecki. We

expect the government to pursue a consistent, coherent, and bold economic policy; one that will dismantle monopolies, restore the free market, and take apart the structures of ubiquitous and all-powerful state ownership. A policy of this kind calls for radical measures and requires prudence and the taking of risks. We expect a strategy to be chosen that will be commensurate with the gravity of the present situation and the dangers that the premier talked about in his address."

Deputy B. Geremek said: "Our club has its roots in the labor movement and it is, therefore, particularly sensitive to social problems and the observance of the principles of social justice. We understand the need for reform and the costs that reforms inevitably entail, but we will defend—I am sure that we will do so together with the government—the interests of working people and those who are in retirement after decades of work.

"We expect the new government to operate within a new type of state, a state that is freeing itself from the monopoly of one party and is restoring the principles of pluralist representation, which will become the property of the entire people. We think that it is the historic role of our Sejm to create a new constitution that will lead Poland into a Europe that is a family of free peoples."

The speaker continued: "We also hope that the process of democratizing the state, an important stage of this process being the formation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, will be aided by a process of genuine democratization from below and the restoration of the role of the citizen and local self-government. When these processes of building democracy, the one from below and the one from above, converge, we can be sure that this new model will be a lasting achievement for Poland.

"Finally, we expect the sphere of state activity to diminish in favor of the civic society. We hope that the civic society will increase the scope of its activities, the extent to which it regulates public life, and that the role of the state and the degree of state interventionism will decline in favor of the civic society.

"For many years, a program of national sovereignty, state sovereignty, political freedom, and national independence seemed to be something that would destroy public order. I think that this has ceased to be the case and that a wind of freedom and democracy, of internal restructuring and the restructuring of relations between states, is sweeping through this other Europe. Against this background, what is happening in Poland is important for all the countries in this geographical area.

"The Citizens' Parliamentary Club, putting aside debates and reservations, has decided to give its unanimous support to the government list that was announced by Premier Mazowiecki. The greatest assistance and source of strength that this government can count on is the support of the millions of people who expressed the will of the nation on 4 June."

Appeal to Modernize State Administration

AU1409125689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Sep p 3

[Dorota Wozniak article: "Administration Today—Closing the Gap"]

[Text] Rational and fast action on the basis of detailed legal regulations, self-discipline, the highest competence, efficiency and orderliness—these are the ideal elements which make up the Weberian concept of bureaucracy. Max Weber, one of the founding fathers of modern sociology, proposed such a model, convinced as he was that the bureaucratization of life was a visible sign of the growth of rationality and social orderliness. To Weber, a strong state administration meant a strong state.

Questions about the strengths of our administration have, by their very nature, to be rhetorical. Why is this so? In answer, it will suffice to refer to the following, namely, a resolution, number 56/67 of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee, dated 23 March 1967. This resolution was concerned with the development and supply of essential office equipment and machinery destined for the state administration sector. It forecast, among other things, that state administration offices would attain the necessary levels of essential office equipment and machinery in 1970.

In 1989, not even 10 percent of those forecasts have been attained. The standard of efficiency of the state administration service has remained firmly at the level of the late Gomulka period. The general public is put off by the old and unfunctional offices. Robust, but hopelessly outdated mechanical calculators are still being used 20 years after their introduction. These machines should have been superseded by electronic calculators long ago. Filing cabinets are overflowing with files containing information that could easily be transferred to computer data banks. One often comes across typewriters that date from our great-grandmothers' day.

In 1986, at the behest of the Office of the Council of Ministers Bureau of Administration Methodology and Structure, an investigative report was produced on the levels and state of technical equipment in regional offices of the state's administrative organs. Many people who claim to know something about this subject, claim that there have been no changes since 1986. Thus, the results of that investigation are still valid today and accurately reflect the present situation.

At voivodship level, almost 40 percent of the office buildings occupied by the state administration, were built after World War II; 17 percent date from before the war; and only 30 percent are less than 15 years old. One third of the local area offices were built before World War I, and a similar number is between 66 and 120 years old. Government administration offices in cities and towns are in an even worse situation, because the majority of its office buildings are well over 65 years old, and only about 15 percent are said to meet the needs of

the administrative staff and the local population. Over 50 percent of the offices occupied by rural district councils were built after World War II, and 40 percent come from the interwar period.

The figures in the office furniture inventories show that office furniture is in plentiful supply, but most is very old and non-functional. Most of this furniture dates from the 1950's. It is often the case that there are shortages of the most basic, but very necessary, supplies of stationery materials. The report shows there is a marked lack of writing implements, envelopes, paper hole-punches, and staplers. There are mechanical typewriters, but according to the figures, over 25 percent of these are out of action at any given time. Electric typewriters are a rarity, and there are practically no electronic typewriters.

State administration offices, however, are well supplied with telephones. Almost 85 percent of rural district offices have radio-telephones, but only 35 percent of the districts are able to make use of the automatic telephone exchange network. The picture for government administration offices in cities is similar, and most of these offices (about 85 percent) also have telex machines.

Telefax machines and computers are still something that is far in the future for most central government and regional administration offices. Most offices still have to rely on the old mechanical calculators. Here and there, one may come across auditing machines [maszyny do ksiegowania]. There are practically no micro-computers, and where they exist, they usually belong to budgetary and economic sections that do not make the fullest use of them.

On the reprographic scene things are bleak. Government rural district offices still have the outdated mechanical spirit-based reproduction machines [powielaczy spirytusowych], cyclostyles, or mimeographs, but because there are frequent shortages of stencils these machines often stand redundant. Only about 15 percent of government city and town offices have photocopiers, and one must remember the report states that the mechanical copiers and the photocopiers already are respectively about 80 and 90 percent through their projected design life.

"To allow matters to remain as they are poses a real threat to the efficiency of the state" says Tadeusz Odlakowski, adviser to the Office of the Council of Ministers. "The restructuring of the economy will pose novel problems for the state bureaucracy. Improvements in the levels of technical equipment cannot be postponed indefinitely. Radical solutions are needed now." he stresses.

The developed countries of the world have long ago coped with the problems that confront us now. The gulf that divides us from them is increasing. Information technology is playing an ever-increasing role in the modern world. Here at home with our poor level of telecommunications, the flow of information between the various levels of our administration is impaired.

The Office of the Council of Ministers Bureau for State Administration is aware of the situation and the pressing needs, and has elaborated a program of radical improvements and modernization. It is accepted that despite the policy of decentralization, certain centrally controlled activities that have been tested with success in the West, could be successfully implemented in Poland. Over 1,500 photocopiers have been purchased with that part of the voivodship funds which the Voivodas have transferred for the disposition of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Our greatest concern must be for the lowest levels of the state administration organs, because it is this level that has been most neglected. Among other things, it is intended to purchase several hundred telefax machines.

The state administration service is one of the most basic and important elements of the state's structure. It is these government officials that directly implement the decisions taken by the central authorities. The success or failure of our endeavors to reform will largely depend on these people. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed in his first parliamentary speech that he expects loyalty and competence from the state administration organs. If these requirements are fulfilled and the program to modernize the state administration is carried through successfully, we can look into the future with optimism. Writing these words, I have in mind the public service officials and the public that they serve.

KPN Issues Statement on Troop Withdrawal

LD1709223789 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 17—The Political Council of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) conveyed to PAP a statement in which it states that in the conditions of progressing international detente and continuous improvement of the East-West relations, with a firm will on both the USSR and USA side to settle all disputes by political means, maintaining of strong military forces of the superpowers in foreign territories is a dangerous anachronism.

The problem of withdrawal of all foreign armies to their own territories, the statement reads, may be settled only within a broad European solution aimed at reduction and rarefying of armaments and at creation of new foundations for international security. Therefore, we received with satisfaction a preliminary proposal made by Mikhail Gorbachev to restrict conventional armaments and to conduct withdrawal of foreign armies in several stages in spheres.

Presenting concrete postulates on the issue, the KPN political council states that political changes made recently in our country predispose Poland to take initiative with a view to reducing and withdrawing of foreign armies.

Independence Groups Demonstrate in Katowice

LD1509213189 Warsaw PAP in English
2005 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Katowice, Sept. 15—The Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), Fighting Solidarity, and other groups calling themselves independent staged a demonstration in front of the Silesian theatre here today chanting slogans "Soviets go home."

After speeches by local leaders of these organisations, the demonstrators marched through the city centre carrying their banners up to the buildings of the Soviet commercial representation and Polish United Workers Party provincial committee. Police did not interfere.

Private Regional Weekly Published in Poznan

LD1509203689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] The WIELKOPOLSKA GAZETA HANDLOWA [WIELKOPOLSKA COMMERCIAL GAZETTE] has appeared in Poznan. This is the first private regional weekly published by independent publishers and journalists since the war.

Journalists' Warsaw Branch Holds Meeting

LD1609223589 Warsaw PAP in English
2017 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 16—Almost 600 members of the Warsaw branch of the Association of Polish Journalists SDP held here today and extraordinary general meeting.

Participants in the meeting elected the branch's board. Maciej Lukasiewicz, president of the "Omnipress" Journalists' Cooperative, was elected president of the Warsaw branch.

It was stated that the association has about 2.5 thousand members and that branch authorities have been elected in Gdansk and Wroclaw. The most important tasks of the association is the organization of editorial circles, reconstruction of professional ethos, contribution to the demonopolization and development of mass media, creation of conditions for the independent shaping of public opinion.

Those gathered at the meeting adopted a statement addressed to Premier Mazowiecki in which they demand an immediate creation, to the moment of working out new organizational forms of the Polish radio and television and the Polish press agency PAP, of social control over their current information activities. At the moment when the country's fate is at stake, one should not allow for people, who through their hitherto journalistic activities led to the destruction of the credibility of radio, television and the PAP, to continue to shape public opinion, reads the statement.

Participants in the meeting were called upon by SDP's President Stefan Bratkowski and members of the delegation of the International Federation of Journalists taking part in the Warsaw conference of journalists from CSCE [Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe] countries. President of the federation MIA Doornaert said that the federation will extend material and technical support for the cause of the development of the SDP's activities.

Glemp, Nissenbaum Discuss Auschwitz Conflict

LD1509203589 Warsaw PAP in English
1909 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 15—A concept of a satisfactory solution to the conflict concerning the Carmelite convent in Auschwitz (Oswiecim) has emerged during a conversation today between Polish Roman Catholic Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp and President of the Nissenbaum Foundation in Poland, Zygmunt Nissenbaum, the primate's secretariat said today.

The matter will be handled by a special team which will deal with the concrete implementation of the construction of the centre of information, up-bringing, meetings, and prayer in Oswiecim.

Warsaw Radio Reports Jasna Gora Pilgrimage

LD1709181589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] More than 250,000 people took part in this year's pilgrimage by workers which ended today at Jasna Gora [monastary in Czestochowa]. Lech Walesa took part in the celebrations and appealed for support for the government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Solidarity representative. During the mass Lech Walesa and Father Henryk Jankowski [parish priest of St Bridget's Church in Gdansk] were awarded the Jasna Gora orders of the Queen of the Polish Crown.

Jaruzelski Meets Pax Chairman 16 Sep

LD1609160789 Warsaw PAP in English
1507 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 16—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today newly elected chairman of the main board of the Pax Catholic Association Maciej Wrzeszcz.

During the talk the two discussed problems concerning Pax's participation in the process of transformations taking place in Poland which are to serve the social and economic development and the strengthening of the state.

Jaruzelski Visits Surgeons' Congress, Museum

LD1709142589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] The jubilee congress of the Society of Polish Surgeons, organized on the 100th anniversary of the

Society and the 200th anniversary of Polish university surgery, is opening in Cracow. Taking part in the opening of the congress is President Wojciech Jaruzelski. This morning, after arriving in Cracow, President Jaruzelski met the Cracow Metropolitan Cardinal Franciszek Macharski. Next, he visited an exhibition in the National Museum entitled "Polish Jews", and the new National Museum building, where the foundation stone was laid 56 years ago by the President of the Polish Republic, Ignacy Moscicki.

Leaders' Public Appearances 8-13 Sep

AU1509165589

[Editorial report] The Polish press monitored from 9 to 13 September reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parenthesis):

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received a group of meritorious farmers in the Belvedere Palace on 9 September. The farmers were awarded the distinction "Meritorious Farmer of the Polish People's Republic." (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 89 p 1)

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received General Czeslaw Kiszczak, to whom he proposed a seat in the new government, on 6 September. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 89 p 2) He received Jozef Slisz, chairman of Private Farmers Solidarity; Jan Kulakowski, secretary general of the World Labor Confederation; Eric Bergbush, Canadian ambassador; and Jerzy Kuberski, new Polish ambassador to the Vatican; on 8 September. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Sep 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received members of the leadership of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic on 12 September. (Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 89 pp 1, 2)

General Florian Siwicki, member of the Politburo and minister of national defense, attended a ceremony at the Polish Army General Staff Academy, at which the Academy's standard was presented, on 8 September. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Sep 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, appeared on the Polish TV news on 10 September in order to discuss a party reform group and a date for the next party congress. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 89 p 2).

POLITIKA Carries Milosevic Interview

AU1309162889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, by a NEW YORK TIMES journalist on 7 September: "The Aim of Socialism is a Richer Society With Greater Economic Efficiency"]

[Text]

The Importance of Respecting the Laws of the Market

Question: Are the long-lasting economic crisis and the intensification of ethnic conflicts causing concern in your country for the future of Yugoslavia?

Answer: No, they are not. The whole of socialism and even Yugoslav socialism is at a great crossroads. It is facing a new phase which it will enter once it has eliminated the economic and political crisis in which socialism as a whole finds itself. Regarding Yugoslavia, the economic crisis is a logical consequence of the fact that we are talking about a country in which socialism took off under conditions of very underdeveloped production forces and low work productivity, and in conditions where we decided on social ownership, which we have still not made an efficient form of ownership. The measures that we are now undertaking in the economic and political sphere, which include the activation of the private sector and the control of foreign capital investment, will strengthen our financial base. We will thus not undermine social ownership.

Question: Your opponents accuse you of stimulating an increase in tension among nations? Does your defense of Serbian demands represent an encouragement of this?

Answer: Serbia does not want a privileged status in Yugoslavia. However, it does not accept a subordinate position either. This is our orientation when it comes to the status of Serbia in Yugoslavia, and I have absolutely nothing more to add to this. The equality of Serbia can bother only the enemies of Serbia and the enemies of Yugoslavia. In any case, the proponents of the idea that Serbia's demand for equality in Yugoslavia threatens Yugoslavia are aggressive, chauvinistic, and primitive people. They are also malicious. They contribute to the tension between the Yugoslav peoples.

Question: In which ways would you as a banker approach economic stabilization and recovery in Yugoslavia?

Answer: Yugoslavia's economic problems can only be solved by respecting the laws of the market and commodity production, with the reasonable planning of development which will facilitate the intelligent use of the available factors of production: qualified labor, social capital, natural resources. This means that the motivational apparatus must be based on the producers' interest to earn as much profit as possible, however this means that the state should act to help the producers. For that to be possible, changes are necessary in the political system, which today represents the main barrier to the reform of the economy on the concept of a market economy. Therefore, changes to the Constitution are needed. That is to say, the Yugoslav federation must have its economic functions and powers to implement them on the whole of its territory. It must have a unified monetary system and a central bank which would function in principle in the same way that your system of federal reserves functions. Furthermore, a unified taxation system and a unified system of economic relations with foreign countries are also needed. Without these three key levers with which the state can operate on the basis of supply and demand, that is to say, without these prerequisites for the Yugoslav economic arena to be ordered in a unified way, there is no unified Yugoslav market and ultimately no Yugoslavia.

It is necessary to introduce into this unified Yugoslav market all the economic principles that apply in developed market economies: free competition in the country and abroad, a market of capital, labor, and technological knowledge, the full economic independence of enterprises and managers, and the acknowledgement of all types of enterprise, ranging from social to collective enterprises. I am particularly stressing the importance of establishing a market of capital which is always the best barometer of the real competitive ability of all participants in economic life. This includes the introduction of all types of securities and normal trade in them on stock exchanges.

I think that these essential changes will create the conditions for Yugoslavia as a socialist country to extricate itself from the present crisis and become a modern economy, capable of joining world competition and world developmental currents. The most important thing for Yugoslavia now is to begin to use its developmental potential more quickly and efficiently. This potential includes an expert and highly-qualified labor force, modern industrial capacity in many sectors, and advantages in agriculture, tourism, and transport. This is where the real chances lie for quicker economic growth, greater productivity, and international competitiveness.

I Want to Contribute to the Prosperity of the Society in Which I Live

This is the direction for a clear program of development and for the chance of a better life in the near future: without inflation, with many new workplaces, with higher wages and a better standard of living. The essence of the economic reform that we are initiating is therefore a market economy, because only by this road can greater economic efficiency and a richer society be achieved, which must also be the aim of socialism.

Question: What are your personal political aims?

Answer: I have no personal aims apart from being able to contribute to the prosperity of the society in which I live. I do not want anything for myself in the political sense

and especially not the creation of a real new cult connected with my personality, which is incompatible with my interpretation of a modern socialist democratic society. After all, the overvaluation of the role of an individual has not brought prosperity to any society, especially not a socialist one. If I have one wish that I would like to stress and which is connected with me and is of a political nature, this is to work politically in a serious and responsible way in a society which finds itself in difficulties. In this respect, I am sure that there are many younger educated people who are ready to work at this job successfully and as soon as possible.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Developed Capitalism Is Becoming Increasingly Socialized

In reply to the question of whether the proposed ideas and ways are consistent with the aims of a socialist country and a Communist party, Milosevic said:

"Yes, they are. The view of socialism that you in the United States have is, to put it mildly, wrong. Socialism in itself does not mean a poor or undemocratic society. If it has been manifested as such until now, then this does not mean that it had to be like this and it especially does not mean that it has to remain like it. Socialism is changing. And capitalism is also changing. Developed capitalism is becoming increasingly socialized and resembles less and less that capitalism which caused the revolt of the proletariat, mass disturbances, and bloodshed. However, underdeveloped capitalism is not something that that system can be proud of. On the contrary."

We Are Not a Tribal Society But a Modern European Country

"The ethnic conflicts that you mention are not ethnic conflicts because we are not a tribal society, but a modern European country which is nevertheless still insufficiently economically developed. The conflicts are therefore national and inter-republican, since the Yugoslav peoples live mixed up in the republics. They originate from the economic difficulties and the political blockage which arose as a result of strengthened bureaucratic relations and bureaucracy in general in the last few decades in Yugoslavia.

"These conflicts are alleviated by the fact that we perhaps did not solve the national issue in the best way. Perhaps our orientation should have been toward a Yugoslavia as the common homeland of all Yugoslav peoples, and not a community of autonomous states. I personally believe that progressive forces, educated people, workers, and particularly the younger generation will solve the crisis in the process of a great mobilization for work and equal democratic relations in society. I am therefore not worried about the outcome, even though the way ahead has many obstacles," said Slobodan Milosevic.

Commentary on Hungarian Border Initiative

AU1609164489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] The Hungarian initiative on demilitarizing the zone bordering Yugoslavia and Austria is another positive step in the process of strengthening European security and cooperation. Here is a military political commentary by Slavoljub Susic on the significance and the scope of this proposal:

The positive reaction to the proposal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party to the Budapest government to the effect that offensive weapons should be gradually reduced along the border with nonaligned Yugoslavia and neutral Austria, and afterwards drawn back 50 km into national territory points out, among other things, that this is a contribution to the process of the relaxation of tension in Europe in the spirit of the Helsinki CSCE Final Act.

If we look back at the beginning of this process, we notice that similar initiatives were launched in the middle of the fifties and later. Let us recall the plan by Anthony Eden, British foreign secretary, on the demilitarization of a zone between East and West Europe, and the plan by Polish Minister Adam Rapacki that followed soon afterwards, on creating a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, submitted to the 12th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1957.

In these proposals, one could discern the striving to neutralize the advantage of the opposite bloc in conventional or nuclear weapons respectively, and to reduce the danger of direct conflicts. The inter-bloc balancing of military power continues to burden relations in Europe. The Hungarian proposal obviously constitutes a new phenomenon in the field of military disengagement.

First, it is an offer that exceeds the military-political alliances. It is directed toward a nonaligned and a neutral country in Hungary's immediate vicinity.

Second, it is desired to fill the proposed demilitarized zone with productive contents of cooperation of the three countries: from commercial facilities, free customs zones, tourism, and other forms of cooperation, to the protection of the environment.

The Hungarian proposal probably also fits in with the concept of reducing armed forces to the level sufficient for defense proclaimed in the Warsaw Pact, a member of which is Hungary. The operative units of the Hungarian Army number some 100,000 men, 1,200 tanks, about 160 military planes, and other modern armaments. Our northern neighbor has reduced its armed forces by some 7,000 men. It has lifted the so-called Iron Curtain facing neighboring Austria. About 11,000 Soviet soldiers and a corresponding number of tanks, from a contingent numbering 65,000 stationed in Hungary, have withdrawn from that country by now.

Looked at exclusively from a military-strategic viewpoint, the withdrawal of military forces on both sides of the border so that they would be 100 km apart has no great significance if one bears in mind the tactical and technical performance of numerous modern weapons, including missiles.

However, a demilitarized zone as a new area of comprehensive cooperation of the three countries, an area over which new bridges of good neighborliness will be built, could have great significance. Yugoslavia has been making and continues to make a notable contribution to the building of such relations with one's neighbors, and more widely in Europe, for it does not visualize the future of Europe in terms of blocs and other forms of division, but in terms of the comprehensive cooperation of independent and equal countries.

Belgrade Radio Views GDR Refugee Issue

AU1709183189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 17 Sep 89

[Text] Although in practice they have already indicated what should be changed and to what extent, the reforms in socialist countries have already had consequences which include many that are troubles that socialism has not faced so far. Branislav Canak comments on this subject:

The world is closely following events in socialist countries, particularly because of the fact that the (?incipient) changes in these countries have had very important and positive effects in international relations.

Assessments differ and range from unjustified euphoria to cautious realism and abhorrence. Thus, one of the trials of the current moment of socialism in the GDR, the mass emigration of citizens into the other Germany, is being used to argue the case both of those who are maliciously researching socialist experience and those who are rationally analyzing the roads to a way out of the clear crisis of this socioeconomic system. While the East German exodus is proof for the former that socialism has never had a historical chance of survival, the latter think that this involves its own kind of warning that changes are essential.

As regards assessments within the bloc itself, these are tinged with the aim that one's own reforming or other achievements are above all not [word indistinct]. Therefore, the accusation that Hungary, for example, opened its borders for the East German refugees to leave for the West in order to encourage Western financial circles to further loosen their purse-strings, sounds tasteless. There is no doubt that the Hungarian Government's move will have such an effect, but the most important move is the one that will be made on the domestic political stage.

That is to say, it would be very dangerous for the relatively firm democratic platform that is currently rallying together different interests to be put at risk in any way exactly before the congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the forthcoming general elections are held. By opening the border toward the West, Hungary avoided becoming a great refugee camp and creating dissatisfaction among its own public, which would be undesirable on the eve of these two political events. Berlin accuses Budapest of interfering in the internal affairs of the GDR by releasing the East German refugees, although it is not clear why their possible further detention in Hungary would not have amounted to the same thing.

However, it is difficult to find any logic in such circumstances, even though logic is emerging in a general context. That is to say, the GDR is being supported in its actions by Czechoslovakia and Romania, that is, in fact those countries which either completely deny the need for change or see it in the context of certain slight corrections. The session of the so-called multilateral group for mutual information in the Warsaw Pact that was held several days ago in Moscow, the visit by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU, to the GDR, and the announced visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to Berlin, as well as sharp attacks in the Soviet press, are not reactions to be equated with those from Bucharest and Prague.

That is to say, the Soviet Union must consider the whole situation in the context of its own international obligations as a superpower and in the context of the interests of cohesion in its bloc. The mass emigration from the GDR is virtually just as undesirable an episode for Moscow as for Berlin, particularly as this is a further burden for the Soviet side in an already overheated [word indistinct] of perestroyka.

Because of all this, Mikhail Gorbachev most probably spent most of his annual August vacation working. Perhaps the most important task at the moment is the preparation of the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on the nationality question, which is scheduled for Tuesday. The preparations for this session have already lasted for 1 year and it is certain that no other plenum in the history of the Soviet party has been prepared in such a way. After all, it is not at all an enviable task to prepare a political meeting while the agenda of that meeting is already taking place to a considerable extent in the very grim reality.

Everything is bound up in a tight knot: tension on the market, the interethnic conflicts, and the difficult and sometimes even painful processes in the public's consciousness that are connected with overcoming the deformations and renovating socialism, Gorbachev said in a television address to the nation a few evenings ago. Perestroyka is, therefore, not a case of milk and honey, and this should be constantly reiterated. It has so far only revealed what is wrong and has yet to begin to change it. Thus, the GDR refugees are not an ill which is not allowing itself to be cured but simply a diagnosis of the situation which one should not close one's eyes to and even less blame somebody else for.

LCY Body Views Preparations for 14th Congress

AU1409184189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The Committee for the Preparation of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has discussed the draft document entitled The Economic Reform and Tasks of the League of Communists in Implementing It. The committee has also discussed the method of organization and work of the 14th extraordinary congress. Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, was in the chair. Here is a report by Momcilo Boskovic and Kosta Krajincanic:

The congress should endorse all changes carried out between the 13th and 14th congresses, Stanko Radmilovic said in his introductory speech. A considerable part of his speech was devoted to social ownership. The present situation in which social property belongs to nobody and to everybody at the same time should be overcome as soon as possible. There are possibilities of making social ownership more efficient, so that it could survive in an equal competition with other forms of ownership.

Radmilovic expressed particular support for a law-governed modern state as a condition for solving many troubles.

[Begin Radmilovic recording] I think that one of the constituent elements of the (?macroeconomic) reform must be to build a state which would posses originality and self-determination, and which must have a differently, that is, better organized way of implementing federal laws and regulations, and of controlling that implementation. As we can see in the constitutional amendments, at present all decisions concerning economic functions that are [word indistinct] made at the federal level are made by consensus. I must say, and let this be considered my opinion alone, a state arranged in such a way cannot be efficient and modern, because nowhere in the world is there a federal state arranged in such a way. [end recording]

According to Sergej Kraigher, the reasons for delays in solving the crisis lie in the failure to implement economic changes consistently. Svetomir Skaric advocates the continuation of the buildup of self-managing socialism. In Stefan Korosec's opinion, we need political unity in order to implement the proposed document on economic reform.

[Begin Korosec recording] In this document, we have to look into the future and the present times, and become united about that. Now it seems to me to be less important whether we achieve unity about something that happened 30 years ago. In order to mobilize an entire society for finding the way out of the crisis, one needs unity at least about some key points of the future. I think that the document lacks this mobilizing force. [end recording]

Further on in the debate, Dragutin Kosovac suggested that inflation should not be mentioned in the document, because it is not known what will happen with inflation up until the congress. Novo Vujosevic is of the opinion that one should coordinate the private ownership concept with the self-managing concept, that is, the principle that the workers class must master the whole of the income. He expressed his fear that an unsuccessful hybrid may be created, something which may cost us dearly, just as some inventions in the past have done.

Dobrivoje Vidic presented a number of interesting ideas. According to him, the basic aim of the document would have to be to open new prospects for socialism.

[Begin Vidic recording] The dilemma does not lie in the question of whether we need more capitalism and less statism. The duty of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, of these decisions of ours, and of these documents is to establish ways to remove statism completely and to establish the full course of the development of socialism, of course, socialism based upon modern foundations. [end recording]

In his concluding speech, Milan Pancevski also pointed out that all congress documents should possess a clear socialist orientation. It was concluded that the document entitled The Economic Reform and the Tasks of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in Implementing It should be submitted to the public debate, together with all remarks, proposals, and suggestions that have been made.

A discussion on the proposal on the organization and method of work of the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia followed. It was proposed that the congress should last 3 days and that mostly plenary sessions should be held. There was also an interesting proposal to the effect that written speeches should not be read.

LCY Issues Stand on Interethnic Relations

LD1509093589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee today announced its stands on the LCY's actions aimed at developing interethnic relations on the basis of socialist self- management. The Central Committee points out that it is a task of the LCY to contribute to the removal of those political and other causes and consequences of migratory trends which are conducive to the concentration and homogenization of populations along national lines, thereby worsening interethnic relations and providing the conditions for expressing nationalism. The freedom of individuals and the equality of citizens are preconditions for the full freedom of nations and nationalities. The resolving of national issues is not only a matter of relations between nations and nationalities but also of those relations within themselves.

Some of the crucial commitments regarding consistent implementation of citizens' rights should be included in the ideological bases for the LCY's activities in reforming the political system. By expanding the opportunities for the expression of citizens' freedoms and rights within the political system, national equality would be enforced and the interests of the working class, nations, and nationalities and those of the citizen as a subject of the political system, would be expressed more comprehensively.

The LC will not allow this affirmation to be exploited for hegemonist or separatist oppression of the rights of individual nations or nationalities and threats to national equality. The basic Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] principles are the only safe basis today for developing the equality of nations and their further development, for an in-depth consolidation—in line with new conditions and needs—of the unity of the Yugoslav multinational community.

The historical, national, and social aspirations of our peoples fit neither a separatist nor a unitarist system nor the destruction of the Yugoslav federation. The socialist republics are the creation of the revolutionary struggle of the Yugoslav peoples and the precondition, based upon the AVNOJ, for and factor of the federation as a self-imposed socialist community which is in their common interest. All the nations and nationalities in the SFRY are equal. The national affirmation of each individual nation must not be at odds with the other nations.

The nations develop all their national values and fulfill their national interests primarily in the environment in which they live because they are also responsible for its overall development and for the development of the entire Yugoslav community. Within the general framework of development the LCY will continue to engage itself in improving the status of the nationalities and the realization of their rights to develop themselves in all aspects and will affirm their cultures, languages, and customs. It is an obligation of communists to help the Kosovo LC implement the LCY Central Committee's decisions and conclusions on Kosovo. This will contribute to the restoration of interethnic trust and the return of peace and security for members of all the nations and nationalities who live there.

The LCY Central Committee also calls on the LCY's membership and organizations to resolutely oppose in all environments the bearers and advocates of nationalist activities. Exaggerating national differences, advocating national intolerance, questioning the integrity of certain socialist republics and the country as a whole, negating certain nations and nationalities, creating political platforms and the ambitions of leadership on nationalist grounds, abuses and disdain aimed at national values, exploiting certain social organizations, associations, and meetings for activities aimed at other nations necessarily leads to divisions and clashes between people, nations, and nationalities.

The following is also stressed in the LCY Central Committee's document: "There has been an increasing number of attempts in recent days to politically minimize and disqualify the role and work of Josip Broz Tito. This is a basic attack on the Yugoslav socialist revolution. The LC's members, organs, and organizations are duty- bound to participate actively and creatively in critical debates on all relevant questions of the concept and practice of our revolution, to ideotheoretically educate themselves to separate these debates from the attacks on and disqualifications of the work and image of Josip Broz Tito. The LC leaderships have all too often been passive toward these occurences while their declared stands were unconvincing and futile. It is the duty of the central and provincial committees and other leaderships of the LC to step up their activities in curbing attacks on the work of Josip Broz Tito," it is stressed at the end of the LCY Central Committee's stances on the development of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia.

More on Relations

LD1509053889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, September 14 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is opposed not only to the creation of a supra-national federal center and the hegemony of any nation, but also to separatism, the forming of separate national states and the breaking up of Yugoslavia. This is the key stand in the conclusions of the federal party on inter-ethnic relations and Yugoslavia's national policy which were made public today.

The conclusions assess that the crisis of the statist model of socialism and the very party's inability to overcome developmental problems of society, are the main reasons behind the dramatic deterioration of inter-ethnic relations in the entire country.

The conclusions point out that national homogenizations in all environments have become stronger and stoke divisions and closing up. Inter-ethnic divisions are decreasing chances that the reforms will (?succeed) and are slowing down the emergence from the years- long crisis, and they also bring damage to Yugoslavia's international renown, the conclusions say. That is why the LCY Central committee is obliging all communists to fight for the elementary principles of national equality on which the federal state was built in the national liberation struggle during World War Two.

The LCY is for the free and equal demonstration of feelings of national belonging and the nursing of all national values along with the recognition of and respect for the existing differences and specificities. It is opposed to all forms of national discrimination and chauvinist divisions of nations into 'big' and 'little,' 'democratic' and 'undemocratic,' 'Stalinist' and 'progressive,' and 'Balkan' and 'European.'

These 'epithets' in inter-republican and inter-ethnic quarrels are lately exchanged most frequently by the

republics Serbia and Slovenia, which accuse one another of unitarianism, or separatism. The Serbs are the most numerous, and Slovenia is economically the most developed, and that (?is why) the Central committee warns that the 'number of members of one nation, or the economic strength of another cannot be the basis for any privileges or special status in a multi-national community. [quotation mark as received]

The conclusions point out that Yugoslav Communists are for the preservation of a federation as a democratic community in which all nations will be responsible for the development of their own environment and the whole country at the same time.

They are opposed to nationalistic attempts to form new administrative or political units, and also attempts to deny the autonomy of the provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo.

The Communists consider Albanian separatism in Kosovo (?the greatest) factor in the deterioration of inter-ethnic relations, and the main reason behind the destabilization of Yugoslavia. That is why the LCY is obliging Communists to fight it in Kosovo, but in the entire country as well.

Starting from the assessment that the struggle of national bureaucracies for the redistribution of power is at the root of all national divisions and conflicts. The LCY declares itself for political pluralism which (?makes) it possible for people to rally around [word indistinct], initiatives, and programs, and thus overcome national exclusiveness in a democratic way. It also urges reforms of the political system which will guarantee the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, as the first precondition for the freedom of nations and nationalities and equality among them.

More on Slovene Constitutional Draft Amendments

Commission Work Unfinished

LD1509034989 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Although the discussion of the constitutional changes in Slovenia should have concluded at midnight last night and the proposed amendments should have been presented to the assembly delegates today—15 days before the assembly session—the final version of the amendments is late, as a result of disagreements over the electoral system. Here is Dragoslav Kosaric:

[Kosaric] The 2-day marathon session of the Slovene Constitutional Commission did not conclude on time because of differences regarding how to elect delegates to the Sociopolitical Chamber. The Slovene alternative holds that only proportional representation is acceptable, although it does not rule out a combination of proportional representation and the majority principle. Sociopolitical organizations are advocating the majority principle, while adding that organizations not recieving the required number of votes would nonetheless have their representatives in the Sociopolitical Chamber.

Regarding the role of the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] in the electoral system, SAWP representatives advocated equal status for the SAWP with other political organizations, which would insure the democratic nature of elections and the free nomination of candidates.

Regarding other controversial regulations, which caused sharp reactions in some republics, the definition of self-determination is weakened, so that the final version does not contain the clause, even so far as secession. According to the Constitutional Commission, it is meaningless to emphasize this. It was said that the republican assembly has the authority to determine the issue and proceedure concerning the right to self-determination, while stressing the permanence and inalienability of this right.

Regarding economic sovereignty of the republic—this faced sharp criticism—the commission holds that the amendment should not be changed because there were no objections to it in the public debate. Thus, Slovene citizens, according to the proposed amendments to the republican constitution, have the right to decide freely about their work and its results, and to handle natural resources freely. On 27 September, the Slovene Assembly will discuss—and as expected, adopt—the changes to the republican constitution.

Today Slovene media reacted sharply to the news of an anounced expanded session of the SFRY Presidency, which will be held in Belgrade tomorrow to discuss the changes to the Slovene Constitution.

Seeks Special Federation Status

LD1409223589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 14 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, September 14 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Communists support draft amendments to the republic's constitution, under which Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed republic, seeks a special status within the federation, a commission preparing the documents for the 11th party congress in November concluded on Thursday.

This practically means that all political forces in Slovenia agree in a demand that the constitutional changes enable Slovenia to be an independent, sovereign and autonomous national state with a right to self-determination, including secession.

The party commission specified today that the Slovenians are not prepared "to live in Yugoslavia at all costs and will not agree to political bargaining."

It was said that the tendencies towards unification in Yugoslavia are already slowing down Slovenia's development. This is why the idea of an "asymmetrical federation," in which Slovenia would have a special

status, is being endorsed. This would imply a recognition of its economic and political sovereignty and the specific character of its development since, as a "developed minority," Slovenia does not accept to be threatened by the "underdeveloped majority."

Members of the Slovenian party commission failed to produce a clear answer to the question of whether Yugoslavia should be a federation or a confederation. They said, however, that the issue should not be ideologized.

Judging by the demands for an explicit definition in the republican constitution of terms under which Slovenia could or should secede from Yugoslavia, and by the theses that the only true dilemma at present is "Slovenia or Yugoslavia," it is apparent that the Slovenians have gone the furthest in their demands for a re-definition of their status in Yugoslavia.

As a result, they are suspected in most of the country of conducting "organized activity aimed at the secession" and at some places even accused of breaking up Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Presidency recently assessed that the key Slovenian amendments bring into question both the character and the organization of the federation and that they are not in conformity with the federal constitution. The Slovenian leadership, however, rejected the assessment.

The charges of attempting to break up the country were today also rejected by president of the Slovenian Assembly Miran Potrc, who described them as "ill-intentioned imputions." He said that Slovenia wanted to use its natural resources and national income as a sovereign state and to decide on questions of common interests together with other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

The Slovenians do not accept the principle of majority vote on decisions concerning fundamental questions of common interest within the federation, but urge the right of veto instead, he said.

Potrc said the amendments to the republican constitution would be adopted on September 27 "without pressures or ultimatums by anyone in Slovenia or Yugoslavia.

Presidency on Proposed Amendments

LD1509142389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—Although not questioning the competence of those responsible for and the procedure for the adoption of the constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, the SFRY Presidency draws attention to far-reaching negative consequences, if adopted amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia contradict the SFRY constitution. The SFRY Presidency also considered a working basis for proposals for the adoption of the new SFRY constitution, and concluded that the proposal should be submitted to the SFRY Assembly and to the public as soon as possible. This was said in a statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency. Here is the statement:

The SFRY Presidency considered issues regarding preparations of the proposed amendments to the SR of Slovenia constitution yesterday and today. Within the framework, a consultative meeting was held between members of the SFRY Presidency and representatives of the SR of Slovenia Presidency and the SR of Slovenia Assembly.

On the basis of the inspection of the text of the proposed SR of Slovenia constitutional amendments, as well as the views and warnings of relevant federal bodies and professionals, the SFRY Presidency expresses its concern about possible effects on the unity of the constitutional and legal systems and on the country's stability if some of the amendments are adopted by the SR of Slovenia Assembly in their present formulation, since their content contradicts the SFRY Constitution.

This refers, above all, to the amendments limiting the authority of the SFRY Presidency in the employment of the armed forces in certain situations and in decision-making regarding the state of emergency (amendment 47); discharging duties regarding common interests and the functions of the federation (amendment 51); inclusion in the normative part of the constitution of the SR of Slovenia of the clauses on self-determination, secession and association, including the procedure for their realization, and of which are in contradiction with the basic principles and clauses of the SFRY Constitution (amendment 9); unilateral assessment of threats to the interests of the SR of Slovenia imposed by procedures for implementation of decisions of federal bodies (amendment 48).

Although not questioning the competence of responsible factors and the legality of the proceedure for the adoption of the constitutional changes in the SR of Slovenia, and having no intention to arbitrate the SFRY Presidency, proceeding from its competence as determined in Article 313, paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution, draws attention to the far-reaching negative consequences for the constitutional set-up of the country, that is, for the federation and for observance of the principle of constitutionality and legality, if the adopted amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia are in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution.

Therefore, the SFRY Presidency expresses its conviction that the SR of Slovenia Assembly will take into account the SFRY Presidency's assessments and stances and that, in accordance with constitutional responsibility of socialist republics and autonomous provinces for their own development as well as for the development of the socialist community as a whole, it will ensure that adopted amendments do not contain clauses which contradict the SFRY Constitution.

The SFRY Presidency adopted this stance proceeding from Article 206, paragraph 1 of the SFRY Constitution, according to which, constitutions of socialist republics and autonomous provinces cannot contradict the SFRY Constitution, and from its constitutional competence arising from Article 205, Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Constitution—prescribing that bodies of all sociopolitical communities and bearers of self-managing, public, and other social functions take charge of constitutionality and legality.

The SFRY Presidency also considered the working basis of proposals for the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution. It concluded that further work on the text be organized in such a manner as to enable the proposal to be submitted to the SFRY Assembly as soon as possible, and, thereby, to be presented to the public for inspection.

Stanovnik Makes Statement

AU1509144089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1313 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Statement by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, at the opening of the session of the Slovenia's Constitutional Commission in Ljubljana on 15 September—recorded]

[Text] At a working meeting yesterday—it was not a formal session—the SFRY Presidency discussed the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. In the afternoon, before the Presidency members concluded their deliberations, they called and invited me to the working meeting. It was made quite clear on that occasion that this would be an informal informational conversation, and the materials previously submitted to us or any other prepared materials would not be a basis for this conversation. In the telephone conversation it was also explained that it is acceptable to the federal Presidency that three of us should attend the working informational meeting: Potrc, president of the commission; Marinc, member of the commission and member of the Presidency; and I.

Thus late yesterday afternoon, the three of us departed for this informational conversation. At the very beginning of the conversation we made a completely clear statement that in our view, and in the view of the Slovenia's Constitutional Commission, there is no conflict between the amendments proposed, or at this moment being discussed in the Constitutional Commission, and the amended Constitution of the SFRY.

The other side made a request that new formulations should be found, especially for Amendments 9, 48d, and 41b. From the very beginning, President Drnovsek took the position that the SFRY Presidency has no power to judge the professional correctness of the provisions proposed by the Constitutional Commission, this being exclusively within the powers of the Slovene Assembly. In this view he was isolated in the SFRY Presidency.

The majority opinion in the Presidium was that there is conflict between the amendments proposed and the SFRY Constitution, and that it is, therefore, necessary for the SFRY Presidency to step in. Since we maintained our position that this was a matter for the assembly and the Constitutional Commission of Slovenia, in which the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia cannot intervene and does not see any basis for a need to intervene, the SFRY Presidency decided that it will formulate its stand on this question by itself at a formal session today.

When this stand is communicated to us, we will immediately convey it to the Constitutional Commission.

Amendments Unaltered

LD1609114589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0903 GMT 16 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—The Socialist Republic of Slovenia Constitutional Commission formulated the final version of all amendments to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia constitution. It also proposed that the republican assembly adopt the amendments in this formuation at its 27 September session. The commission holds that there are no reasons why it should reconsider the formulated controversial amendments just because of the SFRY Presidency statement. The same conclusion was also stressed at the commission's concluding session. According to the commission, the amendments do not contradict the SFRY Constitution, and therefore demands for their revision are unfounded, as well as objections to the amendments' contents.

The SFRY Presidency statement reached the commission when it already had drawn up the final versions of five out of six controversial amendments. The statement had no influence on the overall tone of the then-unfinished amendment, which is the following: "In the territory of the republic or its part, no one is permitted to introduce a state of emergency and determine any related measures without the approval of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia".

Slovene Committee Releases Tasic, Prisoners

LD1509204889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 15 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—The commission for the conditional release of prisoners of the republican secretariat for justice and administration has decided that David Tasic [convicted at the military secrets trial in Ljubljana in 1988] is to be conditionally released on 26 September after serving one-third of his sentence. A statement from the republican committee for information says that the commission over the regular 3-month period has recently conditionally considered 192 appeals for regular release submitted by prisoners in penal rehabilitation institutions in Slovenia. After establishing all the relevant facts the commission has released 109 prisoners, including Tasic.

Slovene LC Central Committee Plenum Discussion

AU1609210189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
9 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on the discussion at the 29th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 8 September: "Popit's Letter Triggers Off a Critical Discussion on the League of Communists' Policy in the 1970's"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Sep—The resignation of Comrade France Popit from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia brought a number of members to the microphone to speak in the discussion. This point on the agenda was chaired by Silvo Gorenc, because a part of Popit's letter referred to the activities of the Central Committee Presidium and thus to the work of its president.

Kings Go to the Guillotine

Milan Meden, the first to speak in the discussion, did not mince his words, and the same applied to the majority of the speakers. He protested publicly "against any power-grabbing paranoia which would try to eliminate the protesters from the political scene in the name of separatism, unitarianism, or monarchy." He said that we all have our opinions and that we had them when revanchist criticism first snapped at Popit; we remained silent when Marinc also ran the gauntlet, and we waited. He said that we are like a waiting organization which knows what Kucan does wrong, what he should do, and what he does not do. Meden sharply rejected the opinion that this party is only worth as much as its president is popular.

Milan Meden: "In his dream on the night of 27 May 1923, Robert Desnos [French poet] met the King of England, who had abdicated. The king challenged him to a duel. Desnos refuted him with a typical, surrealist statement: I do not duel with kings; kings go to the guillotine. What do I want to say? We cannot be more than what we are, and anybody who thinks that he is more makes himself look ridiculous. Popit's intervention makes the political scene in Slovenia quite recognizable. Now all of the doors are open, and both invited and uninvited guests are coming into the room. The armchair is no longer where it used to be; the table will collapse at any minute. However, could it be different at all?"

A Case of Loss of Memory

Avgust Majeric said at the beginning that Popit had not stabbed Slovene democratization in the back and had not endangered the concept of the renewal of the League of Communists; on the contrary, he presented his vision of the time and the events in which we live. Majeric then asked a few questions, for instance about where and how Comrade Popit had gained his conviction that the present League of Communists leadership carries out renewal in the face of the feelings and inclinations of its leadership. Reading the sentence that "the League of Communists has been struggling for a market economy, and for pluralism in politics and ownership for a long time," Majeric asked: Are you not, Comrade Popit, suffering an acute loss of memory? He also disagreed with that part of the letter in which Popit said that leaders do not talk to their members. "You, too, Comrade Popit, were a leader, at least to the extent that Kucan, Smole, and Stanovnik are. It is true that you visited enterprises and communes perhaps more than Kucan or I do, but the masses had no opportunity to argue with you. I cannot get rid of the feeling that your talks were conversations between a deaf person and mute people, rather than a democratic dialogue."

Bozidar Debenjak began by recalling the well-known Brecht opera, in which a careful viewer or listener notices that the right lyrics are always sung by the wrong people.

One-Way Communications

The contradiction between the speaker and the content opens the ears of the listeners to a deeper truth. With his letter about the renewal and his unwillingness to share responsibility for it, Debenjak said, France Popit has succeeded in leading us to a world in which we experience the same subtle dialectics. Like Majeric before him, Debenjak said that Popit's communications with the members were "hellishly one-way," and he also attributed to him a part of the responsibility for the structural shortcomings of the Slovene economy: "It is certainly not Kucan's fault that the Slovene savings were spent on Jesenice [steel plant] and Kidricevo [alumina plant] to such an extent."

Bozidar Debenjak concluded by proposing that the Central Committee should express its confidence in the Presidium (this should be a statement that the Presidium still enjoys the confidence of the Central Committee), thus rejecting the reproaches addressed by France Popit at the Presidium and the Central Committee, and that the Central Committee should take a vote to show how many members agree with Popit's arguments and they should be given the right to be recognized as a minority. He made another proposal that Popit should decide himself whether he still wants to work in the Central Committee as a member of such a minority or whether he wants to leave, and he asked him to decide at this session, because there is no more time for pondering.

Bogo Gorjan spoke about general problems (in connection with the Popit letter). He believed that the communists must strive more resolutely so that they will not cause scandals, launch campaigns, and attribute to individuals unwanted wishes.

Janez Kocjancic thought that Popit has a right to his political opinion, and while he pursues this right, the Central Committee and the League of Communists must ensure respect for his rights and for his person. In his opinion, it is extremely inappropriate to use improper comparisons and expressions. Neither sacrifices nor purges are necessary to renew the party, he said. He agreed with Popit to the effect that nobody can accuse

him of not selecting the right moment. After all, everybody choses his own time. Kocjancic added that one would really have to make an appraisal of the period in which France Popit was the leading man in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and in the Slovene republic, but he was not convinced that this was a suitable occasion.

He said that he did not agree with the majority of Popit's statements in his letter, but that some of them deserve profound discussion. "I think, Comrade Popit, that you are a doing an injustice to yourself in leaving the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia because you do not want to bear responsibility for the renewal as conducted by the present Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia," Janez Kocjancic said. "I have met virtually no man, and I know none, who would think that we can ascribe to you the responsibility for the renewal of the League of Communists." In his opinion, the renewal is not a political action, not tactics, and not a respite by the monopoly party so that it may strengthen its power in a new way. It is an essential turnabout and it is historically necessary if we want to get out of the morass in which we have waded.

Martina Kolar said in a short statement that she works in production, where technology has to be changed frequently if one wants to keep up with the times. She did not recall a case in which the old technologists would hand in their cards because new technology is introduced. Unfortunately the technology of politics changes so infrequently that we experience such moments as a veritable sensation and not as a self-evident fact.

Unconvincing Resignation

Vlado Janzic was of the opinion that Popit's letter must be accepted as a legal right of every citizen to express his agreement or disagreement in the way he finds most suitable. His letter should serve as an occasion for discussing substantial questions, such as an assessment of the role, successes, and errors of the League of Communists in the past, the question of the correctness of the present and future policies of the League of Communists, and the question of the way out of the destructive and long-lasting crisis.

Borut Pahor presented a statement adopted by a working group of young communists. They say, among other things, that each League of Communists member has the right to advance and to argue for his views; they stress the legitimacy of various policy concepts; they completely reject the concept offered by France Popit in his letter; and they stress our need to look for change more boldly and more resolutely on the other side of the fence of socialism, whose expiry date has run out. They say that a line should be drawn under the leaden 1970's; they are not interested in fairy-tale pictures of ideal societies or ideal people, because one cannot live like them. They are interested in real political moves that improve the standard of living of the individual and the community. In conclusion they say: In the letter of Comrade France Popit, we have found none of the things that we are striving for, none of the living, noble pragmatism that we are so damnedly short of now.

Let Popit Stay in the Central Committee

Right at the beginning Vinko Hafner said that he disapproves of Popit's decision to resign from the Central Committee membership; it is indeed his personal decision, but "he obviously overestimated its positive consequences and underestimated its negative ones." The basic reason for his decision, Hafner said, is his justified concern for the unfavorable developments in the League of Communists and the uncertainty of their outcome. Other communists are worried, too. Assessing Popit's decision, Hafner rejected the possibility of an organized conspiracy and the opinion that it is a matter of the conflict of generations. Hafner was also against one-sided reports in public information media, saying that some were quite improper and were utterances of simple scavengers. In conclusion, he said that Popit's decision was primarily his personal affair, but it would be more sensible if he were to change it and remain a member of the Central Committee.

Sergej Kraigher said that Popit's resignation expresses not only his attitude toward the Presidium, but also "criticism of our work and the attitude of the Central Committee toward the work of the Presidium." Kraigher stressed that he disagrees with resignations in principle, and to submit one's resignation because of the shortcomings of an organ whose member one is, means to run away from political, moral, and intellectual efforts, and to expect others to make an effort so that the members will put right what is wrong and not good. Sergej Kraigher saw no reason that the experience and the authority of Comrade Popit should be missing when congress documents are drafted; these documents may serve as a contribution to the preparations for the Yugoslav congress.

Ivan Zagar spoke at length on why the Presidium enjoys the support of the Central Committee and why it also thinks it enjoys the support of the membership. The great majority of the communists demand changes, and they demand specific and radical changes, changes outside the present frameworks in which they were stuck for 20 or more years. The Presidium has offered these changes, and in the period since the congress they have been more radical and bold than before, and therefore the Presidium enjoys the support of the members.

Regarding the relations between the Central Committee and the Presidium, he said that the Central Committee has had every opportunity to influence the Presidium and that the Presidium was very sensitive to the opinions, theses, and scruples of the Central Committee members.

Respect for Differences

Lev Kreft began with the statement that the discussion today shows once again that the communists are not just different in one way, but in many ways, thank God. Because he valued his respect for differences more than the promotion of the shiny image of a communist, he suggested to Popit that he should withdraw his resignation. Otherwise he proposed that the Central Committee should take note of Popit's resignation, but should reject his arguments. This is what happened eventually.

Kreft especially dwelled on two points in Popit's letter regarding the attitude toward the past and the attitude toward self-management. He refuted Popit's statement that perestroyka began in our country in 1948 by quoting Thomas Paine, to the effect that it is utmost conceit when people think that they can rule the future in the name of the past. If we are reformers, our identity does not require an event by which we would begin to measure the time again. We admit our past and we do not renounce it, and precisely for that reason we are critical toward it.

Kreft said that self-management is one of the ways of managing one or more of the plural forms of property, and it is not an integral principle of organizing all of society. Integral self-management is a system in which individuals and groups do not manage their life and work because they are dominated by a single integral interest controlled by its monopoly tenant. This tenant simply comes and grabs political power in the name of your own interest, which you are not supposed to be able to understand. This is no theory of self-management, it is the past in which we lived, it is still our present, and it may be our future.

Milan Balazic said that the fear of merely formal democracy by Comrade Popit and of those who think like him manifests complete lack of confidence in the socialist orientation of the masses. If the seventies were socialism, and the eighties are socialism made to measure for man, we must enter the nineties with democracy and with as much socialism as the people will chose at free elections.

He suggested three proposals to the Central Committee: that the period of the seventies, especially the League of Communists' activities in that period and some of the League of Communists' methods, should be assessed; that the document on the renewal of the League of Communists, adopted by the majority, should stay as it is, and all of the others should know the status of alternative proposals on which the members and the congress should decide; and that the process of renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia should be intensified and its role in encouraging democracy in Slovenia, as well as in Yugoslavia, should be modernized.

Herman Rigelnik said that it is high time that the League of Communists overcomes such response to various views (but not the various views themselves) that incessantly occupy, polarize, and thus paralyze society in general. Unless the League of Communists begins to eliminate not only political, but also developmental, technological, and economic problems as soon as possible, a general social explosion with unforeseeable consequences will break out shortly. Historical experience teaches that in such circumstances, a firm hand and dictatorship occur as a rule. This could be the worst possible way out of the present quandary, particularly for the future of the young generation.

A Little Stalin Is in Each of Us

Our ability for renewal is being tested, Milan Kucan said. It is necessary to take a step forward. Whether we are going back to the seventies, which is to say to political monism, or forward into the nineties, into democracy and renewed socialism made to measure for man, depends in many respects on the manner and the understanding of this discussion, objectively forced on us by Comrade Popit's letter. In Kucan's view, the way that France Popit has chosen is undemocratic, for he extorts his right to express his opinion and to have his views discussed by threatening to resign.

Unfortunately, Kucan went on to say, in a certain way there is a little Stalin in each of us, grafted to the clerical traditions among the Slovenes: including me, and Debenjak, and Hafner. We must admit this, and it is not important who has more of this little Stalin and who less. Kucan very much agreed with the procedure which rejects the logic of a Comintern party, the logic of conflict, a confrontation on the principle either us or them, a search for the exclusive and only correct truth on one side or another, and the consequence for the losing side following the principle of woe to the vanquished. He stressed that we cannot strive for sin being proved, and then penance and anathema being imposed, nor for accusations of wrecking and factionalism, which is a consequence of making a fetish of unity as an aim in itself instead of recognizing the differences and the ability to synthesize these differences through democratic institutional machinery. Unless we are able and willing to do this in this Central Committee, we will not know how to live in a pluralist society.

He Did Not Want To Make a Fuss

When no one wanted to say anything more, France Popit once again asked for the floor. He expressed the opinion that it was right that the discussion indicated some questions of present as well as past policies. He said he was not satisfied with the beginning of the discussion, because the point on the agenda was not Popit but Popit's letter.

He also said that he did not want to make a fuss with the letter. Had he wanted to do so, he would have written a letter to the public, as young communist comrades do. He, however, wrote the letter to the Central Committee.

Popit also rejected the reproaches that he opposes the League of Communists' renewal. However, he was concerned about the direction that the renewal may take: either the direction of a socialist self-managing option or

the direction of a bourgeois party. There is no other solution, for surely we will not go back to a real socialist party. We are now messing about in one way and another, but it has not been said clearly where we will go with this type of renewed League of Communists. Popit favored the self-managing socialist option.

He agreed with Prosenc that two concepts were involved, therefore, it is not possible to say that the sense of what you want to state has already been written down here. They had been able to dispatch Rus in this way at the previous session, but they cannot do this to him.

Popit also spoke about the road affair [in July 1969]. As he said, the affair was set off by the Federal Executive Council at that time, whose president was Mitja Ribicic. Stane Kavcic then reacted in a way that did not take into account the relationship of forces in Slovenia. It was again shown on that occasion that plans, as ideal as they may be, and their proponents fail if they do not take reality into account.

In conclusion, he thanked very nicely all of those who in the recent days had competed in slinging mud at him and his work. They demonstrated approximately what it will be like in a parliamentary democracy.

"The session today will adopt such decisions as we are able and capable of adopting at the given moment. Political practice and its results will show what actual value will become attached to the several views and decisions for our economic and social reality and for the clarification of our political circumstances." France Popit said in the conclusion of his last speech in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.